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Thesis
ISAIAH IN THE LIGHT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
by

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(A.B., Eastern Nazarene College, 1931)

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Master of Arts
1935

S U M M A R Y

ISAIAH IN THE LIGHT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeology, the exploration of past civilizations, is a most fruitful source in furnishing much light and information for a fuller understanding of the Bible. Scientifically conducted, the archaeological campaigns in Palestine, Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia have netted valuable information about the history, the people, the culture, the customs, and the religion of these countries.

Isaiah, a Hebrew prophet, lived in the eighth century B.C. in Jerusalem, the capital of the little kingdom of Judah. We have a record of his ministry and his activities as a 'counsellor of the king' in the Hebrew Scriptures. To better understand his work and message we have undertaken to review the political, the social and the religious situation in the kingdom of Judah during the period covered by the prophet's life. In doing this, we have discussed the political relation of the kingdom of Judah, first, to the kingdom of Israel on the north, reviewing the Syro-Ephraimitish War and its result upon Judah; then, the relation of Judah to Egypt on the south, stressing the prophet's attitude toward this 'bruised reed'; then the relation of Judah to the great Assyrian empire to the east, following the reigns of the four monarchs who come within the

prophet's horizon: namely, Tiglath-pileser III, Shalmaneser V, Sargon II, and Sennacherib, and emphasizing Sennacherib's campaign against the walled cities of Judah, his siege of the city of Jerusalem, and his closing days at Nineveh.

Then, we have tried to give a picture of society as seen by Isaiah. To do this, we have stressed the social attitudes which Isaiah, and his fellow-prophets, condemned: the extravagance of the women, the indulgence in liquor, and the greed for land and wealth.

To complete the survey, we have reviewed the religious practices which prevailed in the time of the prophet, and against which he preached.

To corroborate and to illuminate this political, social, and religious pageant, we have had recourse to the resources which are possessed by the tested results of archaeological work. We have chosen from the great mass of findings in this field those features that properly belong to the eighth century B.C. and have focused them upon our pageant. The results are both illuminating and enjoyable. Through the entire procedure, we have kept our eyes upon that central figure --Isaiah, the prophet of Jerusalem.

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 - (f) Elizabeth Black
 - (g) Thomas Green
 - (h) Patricia Gray
 - (i) Christopher White
 - (j) Jennifer Black
 - (k) Daniel Brown
 - (l) Rebecca White
 - (m) Steven Black
 - (n) Kimberly Brown
 - (o) Matthew White
 - (p) Ashley Black
 - (q) Christopher Brown
 - (r) Stephanie White
 - (s) Benjamin Black
 - (t) Victoria Brown
 - (u) Alexander White
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ISAIAH IN THE LIGHT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

I. INTRODUCTORY

At the close of the nineteenth century Herman Hilprecht wrote: "Any light is welcome from any source that can make clearer the conditions of life and progress among the people of the Bible, that can explain any of its obscure allusions, fill up a gap in its narratives, or even illustrate its phrase-ology."⁽¹⁾ This same attitude toward an understanding of the Bible still exists today, and it is for this reason that there is such a wide-spread interest at the present time in archaeological research in Bible lands.

One of the sources that has been most fruitful in furnishing much light and information for Biblical study is that of archaeology. Properly understood, archaeology is "that branch of knowledge which takes cognizance of past civilizations, and investigates their history in all fields, by means of the remains of art, architecture, monuments, inscriptions, literature, language, implements, customs, and all other examples which have survived."⁽²⁾ Dr. North, in an article "The Old Testament in the light of archaeology", is satisfied to define archaeology as "what exploration has revealed of ancient Palestine and the adjacent countries (Egypt, Syria, Phoenicia, the Tigris-Euphrates Valley)."⁽³⁾ We, too may use this latter statement as a suitable definition of the term in the consideration of our topic: Isaiah in the Light of Archaeology.

(1) "Recent Research in Bible Lands". page 6.

(2) "The Century Dictionary". ed. 1903. Vol.I, page 293.

(3) "Abingdon Commentary". page 114.

I. INTRODUCTION

At the close of the nineteenth century Herman Hilprecht wrote: "Any light is welcome from any source that can help to clear the conditions of life and progress among the people of the Bible, that can explain any of its obscure allusions, fill up a gap in its narrative, or even illustrate its phraseology." This was at least twenty years ago, and it is true that there is still much to be learned from the study of the Bible in connection with such a wide-spread interest as the present time in archaeological research in the East.

One of the sources that has been most fruitful in furnishing such light and information for Biblical study is that of archaeology. Properly understood, archaeology is "that branch of knowledge which takes cognizance of past civilizations, and investigates their history in all fields, by means of the remains of art, architecture, monuments, inscriptions, literature, law, customs, language, costume, and all other examples which have survived." In an article "The Old Testament in the Light of Archaeology," it is said to define archaeology as "that excavation has revealed of ancient Palestine and the adjacent countries (Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, the Tigris-Euphrates Valley). We may use this latter statement as a suitable definition of the part in the consideration of our topic: namely in the light of archaeology."

- (1) "Recent Research in Bible Lands," page 6.
- (2) "The Century Dictionary," Vol. I, page 232.
- (3) "Bible Lands," page 114.

Through the past century archaeology has proved itself to be a searchlight, and, indeed, a valuable one, to illuminate past civilizations; and with the passing of years that beam of light has increased steadily in its brightness and intensity. The debt that we owe to this searchlight is clearly expressed by C. Leonard Woolley, the famous excavator of Ur of the Chaldees.

"Scientific archaeology is a modern development, but in its short life of about seventy years it has done marvels. Thanks to excavation, thousands of years of human history are now familiar which a hundred years ago were a total blank, but this is not all, perhaps not even the most important part. The old histories, resting principally on written documents, were largely confined to those events which at every age writers thought most fit to record,--wars, political happenings, the chronicles of kings,-- with such side-lights as could be gleaned from the literature of the time. The digger may produce more written records, but he also brings to light a mass of objects illustrating the arts and handicrafts of the past, the temples in which men worshipped, the houses in which they lived, the setting in which their lives were spent; he supplies the material for a social history of a sort that could never have been undertaken before. Until Schliemann dug at Mycenae, and Sir Arthur Evans in Crete, no one guessed that there had been a Minoan civilization. Not a single written word has been found to tell of it, yet we can trace the rise and fall of the ancient Minoan power, can see again the splendors of the Palace of Minos, and imagine how life was lived alike there and in the crowded houses of the humbler folk. The whole history of Egypt has been recovered by archaeological work, and that in astonishing detail; I suppose we know more about ordinary life in Egypt in the fourteenth century before Christ than we do about that of England in the fourteenth century A.D. To the spade we owe our knowledge of the Sumerians and the Hittites, great empires whose very existence had been forgotten, and in the case of other ancient peoples, the Babylonians and the Assyrians, the dry bones of previously known fact have had life breathed into them by the excavation of buried sites. It is a fine list of achievements, and it might be greatly expanded; all over Europe, in Central America, in China and in Turkestan excavation is supplementing our knowledge, and adding new vistas to our outlook over man's past; and to what is it all due? Not to the mere fact that antique objects have been dug out of the ground, but to their having been dug out scientifically."(*)

It is our intention and purpose to focus this searchlight upon the stage of the Near East in order that we might see more

(*) "Digging up the Past". page 13ff.

clearly the drama enacted there in the Eighth Century B.C., following closely the career of the great Hebrew personality, Isaiah, in his rôle as prophet and statesman to the little kingdom of Judah in the midst of tremendous political, social and religious changes and complications.

It was in the Eighth Century B.C. that the city of Rome had her origin and came under the control of the Etruscan kings. In Greece Athens and Sparta were developing slowly into rival city-states. Seizure of the land by the rich and control of the government by the nobles had sent forth Greek colonists in the same period to the numerous islands of the Aegean Sea, to the shores of Asia Minor and the Black Sea, and to the southern end of the peninsula of Italy. The first Olympic games were held in 776 B.C. and became the starting point for the dating of Grecian history. In Egypt the mighty empire had disintegrated into independent city-states which were fighting among themselves, and which Ethiopia, on the south, was trying to bring together into a unit under her control and leadership. In the Tigris-Euphrates Valley Assyria was in the ascendancy and was entering upon the second half of her glorious military history. In China the Chou Dynasty was on the throne of the emperors, and the country was led in the Eighth Century B.C. into one of the worst periods of political disorganization that she was ever called upon to face. Phoenicia, under the leadership of Tyre, had already made a name for herself by her trading activities. The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah were entering upon one of their brightest and most promising epochs, which all too soon was to lead to tragedy. Into this world-setting enters the Prophet of Jerusalem.

II. THE SOURCES FOR OUR STUDY

A. Archaeological Sources

There is much material available for such a study as we have undertaken. First of all, there is the wealth of archaeological findings at our disposal which have accumulated during the past three quarters of a century and which are the result of careful scientific work on the part of expert scholars laboring in Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Mesopotamia.

In Palestine, especially, much archaeological effort has been and is now being put forth on the part of societies which have been organized for that specific purpose. The three most important of these societies are: The Palestine Exploration Fund, organized in London in 1865; The German Palestine Society, (Deutscher Palästina-Verein), founded in 1877; and The American School of Oriental Research in Palestine, opened in Jerusalem in 1900. The work of these societies has been supplemented by individual enterprises and by the expeditions of some of the leading universities of America, including Yale, Harvard, and the University of Pennsylvania Museum. Under the leadership of such men as Prof. Edward Robinson, General Sir Charles Warren, Dr. Frederick J. Bliss, Prof. R. A. Stewart Macalister, Dr. Duncan Mackenzie, Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie, Prof. Ernst Sellin, Pres. M. G. Kyle, Dr. W. F. Albright, Prof. G. A. Reisner, Capt. Raymond Weill, Dr. Clarence S. Fisher, Alan Rowe, G. M. Fitzgerald, Dr. Aage Schmidt, P. L. O. Guy, Prof. F. W. Badé, Père Vincent, Prof. Elihu Grant, Dr. John Garstang, F. A. Schaeffer, and others, many ancient mounds and cities of the Holy Land have been uncovered and excavated. Some of the more important

sites which have been uncovered and which have made valuable contributions to the understanding of Palestinian history are: Ain Shems (Beth Shemesh), Tell Beit Mirsim (Debir - Kirjath Sepher), Tell el-Ajjul (Gaza), Gezer, Ophel in Jerusalem, Tell el-Muteselim (Megiddo), Beth Shan, Tell el-Hesi (Eglon), Tell el-Duweir (Lachish), et-Tell (Ai), Bethel, Tell Balata (Shechem), Samaria, and Jericho.

Barton summarizes the history of Palestinian exploration as follows, dividing it into three periods: (*)

(1) The first began with the work of Robinson, in 1838, and extended to 1890. It was the period of beginnings. Its work was experimental and unsystematic and lacked the guidance to be obtained from pottery.

(2) The second period, from 1890 to the Great War in 1914, was inaugurated with the introduction, by Petrie, of pottery as a source of historical and chronological knowledge, and was characterized by the development of an increasingly accurate scientific method.

(3) The third period, from 1920 to the present time, has been characterized by the development of the art of excavation into a science, (**) the perfecting of the use of pottery as an instrument of knowledge, and the undertaking of systematic and complete excavation of sites.

The findings and results of all this activity may be classified, in general, as follows: (1) Pottery (2) High Places and Temples (3) Houses and Palaces (4) Tombs, cisterns and tunnels, (5) Inscriptions (6) Religious and cult objects,

(*) "Archaeology and the Bible", 6th ed., revised, 1933, page 144

(**) An example of this may be seen in the new book by Badé, "A Manual of Excavation in the Near East", Un. of Calif. 1934. It records the methods of digging and recording of the Tell en-Nasbeh Expedition in Palestine.

such as, sacred stones and pillars, cup hollows, figurines, and miniature shrines. (7) Fortifications, such as walls and towers. (8) Miscellaneous items, as, i.e., utensils, personal ornaments, measures, weights, and coins. By means of these we are able to ascertain much as to the social, cultural and religious conditions of the people in different periods of their history.

We must say a word here regarding the valuable contribution which pottery has made to the science of archaeology. Prof. Petrie was the first to note the relationship of pottery to the different stages of historical development of peoples, and he began a careful classification of the pottery findings. "It was natural", writes Barton^(*), "that, in a country which had so long a history as Palestine, and over which the influence of so many diverse civilizations swept, there should be a considerable variety in the types of pottery in different periods. Indeed, it is now recognized that the differences in these types are so marked that in the absence of other criteria it is possible approximately to date a stratum of the remains of any ancient city by the type of pottery found in it."

Our archaeological sources, however, lead us beyond the borders of Palestine to those countries with which Judah, in the days of Isaiah had contacts. These are: Syria, where in 1931 were discovered the Ras Shamra Tablets which have a very valuable philological and religious significance; Egypt, and Mesopotamia -the land of ancient Assyria and Babylonia-, where have been discovered ancient palaces, monuments, libraries

(*) "Archaeology and the Bible", page 186.

that in, nearly all cases and others, two different, distinct, and
well defined periods. (7) The first period, known as the "early"
period. (8) The second period, known as the "late", which is
characterized, respectively, by a more or less complete
and also by a more or less complete, and also by a more or less
religious condition of the people in different periods of their
history.

It must not be forgotten that the scientific condition
which history has made in the science of anthropology, that
history was the first to make the relationship of history to the
different stages of historical development of people, and in
fact a careful classification of the history findings. "It
was natural", writes Huxley, "that, in a country which had no
long a history as Palestine, and even which the language of so
many diverse civilizations were, there should be a considerable
variety in the types of history in different periods. Indeed,
it is not surprising that the differences in these types are so
great that in the science of other cultures it is possible
approximately to date a nation of the nation of any nation
only by the type of history found in it."

The archaeological evidence, however, leads us beyond the
limits of history to those countries with which, in
the days of Israel and Judah. These are: Syria, where in
1828 were discovered the two famous tablets which have a very
valuable historical and religious significance; Egypt, and
Mesopotamia - the land of ancient Assyria and Babylon, where
have been discovered ancient tablets, monuments, inscriptions

and clay tablets, containing inscriptions, annals and chronicles of ancient kings and rulers. We would call attention to the famous Assyrian Eponym Lists. These are lists of years and the principal events of those years, each year being named after the king or some officer. Tablets on which these lists were recorded have been found, making it possible to read the chronology from 893 to 666 B.C. One of these lists refers to an eclipse which occurred at Nineveh in the eighth year of Ashur-dan, and which according to astronomical calculations happened on June 13, 763 B.C. The determination of this eclipse has enabled scholars to fix the whole system of Assyrian chronology and to calculate the exact date of various events which happened in the times of the prophet Isaiah, as, i.e., the year when Menahem paid tribute to Pul, the year when Damascus was captured, the year when Sargon forced Samaria to surrender, and when he came to Ashdod. In this connection it is of interest to know that it has been reported that in the ruins of the Temple of Nebo at Dur Sharrukin (Khorsabad) was found a complete list of Assyrian kings for nearly 3000 years, ending with the eighth century B.C., and giving the dates and length of the reigns. (*)

B. Biblical Sources

The other main source for our study of the times of Isaiah is to be found in the Old Testament in the following portions or passages: (1) The historical narratives recorded in II Kings, chapters 14 to 20 inclusive. (2) The narratives in II Chronicles, chapters 26 to 32, which are supplementary and secondary to those in II Kings. The following are the parallel passages:

(*) See "The Expositor" (British), Vol. 45, #8

II Kings		II Chronicles	
Chap.	14:21,22; 15:2-7.	Chap.	26:1-4,21-23
"	15:33-36,38	"	27:1-3, 7-9
"	16:2-4, 19-20	"	28:1-4, 26,27
"	18:2-3	"	29:1-2
"	18:13 - 19:37	"	32:1-21
"	20	"	32:24-33

(3) The Book of Isaiah, chapters 1 - 39. (4) The messages of the three prophets whose life and work overlapped or was contemporary with that of Isaiah, namely: Amos, Hosea and Micah.

It is not within the scope of this thesis to enter into the critical phase of these Biblical sources. We would say, however, that any particular verses or portions which we may quote or to which we may refer in our study will be those of which there is no doubt as to their dependability for source study for the purposes of this treatise.

C. Historical Sources

In following up such a study as the one in which we are engaged, much dependence must also be placed upon the work of historians and scholars, who have built up for us through arduous labors the chronological sequence of events in the various countries with which we are concerned, and who have made it possible to read the ancient writings and inscriptions that throw so much light upon historical personages and events. Thus we are much indebted to the late authentic histories of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Assyria, which will serve as a "Baedeker" to guide us through the labyrinth of historical facts and findings.

17. Chronology	18. Index
1914-15, 1-2	1914-15, 1-2
1915-16, 3-4	1915-16, 3-4
1916-17, 5-6	1916-17, 5-6
1917-18, 7-8	1917-18, 7-8
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1920-21, 13-14	1920-21, 13-14
1921-22, 15-16	1921-22, 15-16
1922-23, 17-18	1922-23, 17-18

(1) The book of Isaiah, chapters 1 - 39. (2) The messages at the three prophecies: these life and were overlaid on the contemporary with that of Isaiah, Isaiah, Isaiah and...

It is not within the scope of this thesis to enter into the critical study of these biblical passages. It would be, however, to say that the prophecies are not without their value of study on so much as they refer to the study of the history of which there is no doubt as to their authenticity for the study for the purposes of this thesis.

3. Historical Background

In following up such a study as this one in which we are engaged, much attention must also be placed upon the work of historians and scholars, who have built up for us through various countries the chronological sequence of events in the world. It is possible to read the ancient writings and inscriptions that have been left upon the walls of the ancient world and to find that we are brought to the late antique history of Egypt, Persia, India, and Assyria, which will serve as a "background" to guide us through the history of biblical texts and findings.

III. ISAIAH, THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE

It would seem advantageous to our study to pause here and review briefly the main career of the prophet so that we might have clearly in our minds a picture of the man and his ministry.

A. His Early Life and Call

Little is known of the early life of Isaiah. It is stated in the book that bears his name that he was the son of Amoz (1:1; 2:1). Concerning his parents nothing is known. Tradition has said that his father, Amoz, was a brother of King Amaziah, but this tradition is discounted. He was an inhabitant of the city of Jerusalem, and, so far as we know, lived there all his life. He appears to have been intimately acquainted with the ways of the court, and seems to have had a ready access to the presence of the king. From this it is inferred that he belonged to a noble family and enjoyed all the advantages of training and society open to the son of a prominent citizen of Jerusalem. He did not live apart from the affairs of his time, but mingled freely with all classes of society. He was a keen observer of the conditions of his day, and was bold to speak out in criticism of the policies of the king or of the corruption of the princes and nobles.

Isaiah was married and had a family. His wife is spoken of as "the prophetess", signifying the wife of the prophet rather than that she was also a prophet-ess. Two sons are mentioned to whom he was commanded by the Lord to give symbolic names. One was called Shear-jashub, meaning "a remnant shall return"; and the other was named Maher-shalal-hash-baz, signifying "spoil speedeth, booty hasteth". Thus, even his family

was used to enforce and emphasize his teaching. They were a 'living witness' of his message to Jerusalem and Judah.

The greater part of the prophet's life came within the latter part of the eighth century B.C. Dr. Gray thinks that he must have been born from ten to twenty years before the year 750, and that he probably outlived the century by as much as ten or twelve years. While Isaiah was a boy his fellow-countryman, the prophet Amos, spoke out against the northern kingdom of Israel. Probably during the early years of his activity as a prophet, another prophet, Hosea, of the northern kingdom, was preaching to the people of that kingdom. Later on Isaiah's own teaching and message was reiterated by his contemporary, Micah. "Isaiah living in the capital, and Micah living in the country.....saw and judged some things differently, yet with fundamental agreement". (*)

Isaiah received the call to a prophetic ministry in the year that king Uzziah of Judah died, or about 740 B.C. The latter became king of Judah about 789 B.C., and his reign of half a century marks one of the most prosperous periods in the history of Judah. Never, since the days of king Solomon, had there been such prosperity as was seen during the reign of Uzziah. It was in the midst of forebodings suggested by the removal of the great king that the prophet received his call. Who knows but that the prophet felt that the death of this king would be the forerunner to a period of anarchy and confusion. May it not be that the vision which came to the young man was the answer to all his fears and forebodings? In the midst of

(*) G.B.Gray, "Isaiah", Int. Crit. Comm. page LXIX.

disturbing thoughts over the decease of the great sovereign there came to the prophet a revelation of Him who was the true King of Israel. The climax of this vision was reached when the young man cried out, "Mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts" (Isa. 6:5). Then it was, after hearing a voice asking "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" that Isaiah quickly responded, "Behold me, send me".(6:8). When he found out that his preaching would not be received, and when he enquired of the Lord how long he would have to continue such a ministry, he was informed, "Until cities be waste without inhabitant, and houses without man, and the land become utterly waste, and Jehovah have removed men far away, and the forsaken places be many in the midst of the land." (6:11,12)

B. His Ministry and Message

As far as we know the ministry of Isaiah was intermittent. There are long blanks in the record of his work, and periods of silence of which little is known. But there were great crises in the history of the nation, when the prophet comes to the front.

It is convenient to divide the ministry of Isaiah into three periods. The first extends from the death of Uzziah to the beginning of the reign of Ahaz. The second centers around the crisis of the Syro-Ephraimitic invasion, about 735 B.C. The third is the time of Assyrian domination, culminating in the invasion of Judah and the deliverance of Jerusalem in 701 B. C.

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 there came to the prophet a revelation of the two and the
 two (King of Israel). The vision of this vision was revealed
 when the young man said out, "This vision have seen the King,
 the King of Israel" (Isa. 6:1). Then he said, after hearing
 a voice saying "Thus saith I Lord, and the will do for me."
 that Isaiah deeply responded, "Behold me, Lord" (Isa. 6:8).
 When he found out that his response could not be revealed,
 and when he reported of the Lord how long he would have to
 continue such a ministry, he was informed, "Until thou be
 waste without inhabitants, and houses without men, and the
 land become utterly waste, and Lebanon have removed and the
 way, and the fortress places be many in the midst of the
 land." (Isa. 6:11, 12)

2. The Ministry and Message

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It is convenient to divide the ministry of Isaiah into
 three periods. The first extends from the death of Hezekiah
 to the beginning of the reign of Manasse. The second extends
 around the crisis of the Assyrian invasion, about 722
 B.C. The third is the time of Assyrian domination, culminating
 in the invasion of Sennacherib and the deliverance of Jerusalem in
 701 B.C.

The discourses generally assigned to the first period of the prophet's ministry reveal him mainly as a preacher of national righteousness and of judgment to come. His two texts were "the sin of Israel", and "destruction by the Assyrians". The second phase of his ministry shows him in the role of a political adviser. It is in this respect that Isaiah differs from Amos and Hosea in their messages to Israel in the north. Though the general convictions of these three men were the same, yet in the writings of Hosea and Amos there is no policy of political procedure given for the leaders of the state, such as we find in the messages of Isaiah. Speaking of this Dr. Skinner observes, "Now it is one of Isaiah's chief distinctions that he revived this political function of prophecy which had been in abeyance since the time of Elisha. Without descending from the high spiritual level to which prophecy had been raised by the work of Amos and Hosea, he was able from that standpoint to formulate a definite religious policy by which the nation might be safely guided through the dangers that lay immediately before it." (*)

When news was received that the northern kingdom, Ephraim or Israel, had joined with Syria for a joint attack upon Judah, Isaiah counseled king Ahaz not to fear this alliance and to dissuade from seeking the protection of Assyria. But the king ignored his advice. Then the prophet appealed to the people, but they, too, were indifferent to his appeals. This rejection of his message by both king and people appears to have led to a temporary retirement from a public ministry to one of private

(*) J. Skinner. "Isaiah", Cambridge Bible. page XXVIII.

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Then now we recognize that the northern kingdom, Samaria
or Israel, had joined with Syria for a joint attack upon Judah,
Isaiah counseled king Ahaz not to join this alliance and to
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of his message by both king and people appears to have led to a
temporary withdrawal from a public ministry to one of private
[?] I. Richter, "Isaiah", Goodrich Bible, page XXVII.

teaching of a band of followers and "disciples". This retirement is described as "binding up the testimony and sealing the instruction among my disciples"(Isa. 8:16).

The third period of the prophet's ministry relates to the Assyrian invasion and to the fortunes of Judah in relation to Egypt and Assyria. During the reign of Ahaz Isaiah had advised against an alliance with Assyria, but during the reign of king Hezekiah the prophet was opposed to violating the compact with Assyria by an alliance with Egypt or any other nation opposed to Assyria. When Assyria did finally invade Judah and came up to the very walls of the city of Jerusalem, Isaiah counseled the king and the people to trust in Jehovah, who would not let the city be destroyed by the Assyrians. The expected deliverance of the city from Sennacherib did come to pass. Isaiah's triumph in this last crisis, after having received so many rebuffs on the part of the people and the king during his earlier ministry, was an event which W. Robertson Smith says has had "more influence on the life of subsequent generations than all the conquests of Assyrian kings; for it assured the permanent vitality of that religion which was the cradle of Christianity." (*)

The remainder of Isaiah's life is a matter of obscurity. How long he lived after "the great deliverance", how he spent his remaining years, is not known. The date of his death is also unknown. According to a tradition of the Jews, the prophet suffered martyrdom under the king who succeeded Hezekiah, Manasseh. The apocryphal book, The Ascension of Isaiah, states

(*) "The Prophets of Israel". London. 1907. page 356.

that he was sawn asunder; which statement is repeated by Justin Martyr in his DIALOGIA with the Jew Trypho, and is supposed to be alluded to in the Epistle to the Hebrews (11:37).

The prophet Isaiah was in every sense a leader. Bishop Charles H. Brent has defined a leader as "one who goes before the crowd, who keeps in advance of the crowd without detaching himself from the crowd". This is an excellent description to apply to Isaiah. He was the spokesman for Jehovah in an age when the people had lost sight of their ideals and their mission. He tried his very best to turn the hearts of the people to the message of Jehovah, and in this he led the way for them. He has been described as Judah's Demosthenes. Cornhill pays him this tribute: "Never did the speech of Canaan pour forth with more brilliant splendor and triumphant beauty than from his lips. He has a strength and power of language, a majesty and sublimity of expression, an inexhaustible richness of fitting and stirring imagery, that overwhelms the reader, nay, fairly bewilders him." (*)

In his teachings the prophet made a rich contribution to Israel, as well as to the rest of the world for all time. He had a majestic conception of God which he passed on to Israel. To him, Jehovah was Lord of all the earth. He was lifted up above all other gods and was ONE God. Moreover, He was a holy God, separated from all unrighteousness. He was spirit and not flesh, and His presence filled the whole earth. He was a God to be revered and One whose presence produced awe.

The prophet's outstanding contribution with respect to the

(*) Quoted by C. J. Harrell, "The Prophets of Israel"

nature of God was his conception of and insistence upon the holiness of Jehovah.

His teaching contained a rich conception of the Messianic ideal. There was to be a time when Jehovah would usher in a social era over which should rule One who was the chosen representative of the mind and heart of Jehovah.

Another point of emphasis was his doctrine of the Remnant. Isaiah believed that even though Judah would be punished for her sins by going into captivity, yet a nucleus would remain out from which would spring a people who would be true to Jehovah. This truth was punctuated by his naming one of his sons, "a remnant shall return", and by his confining his teaching to his small group of disciples, with whom he deposited a kernel of truth or teaching, and from whom he expected the new Israel would spring.

In ministering to the people, Isaiah tried to impress upon them the necessity of an attitude of FAITH. He is the first of the prophets to bring this doctrine into prominence. He insisted that only a relationship on the part of the nation to Jehovah which would manifest itself in Quietness and Trust would protect Israel. "If ye will not believe", he counsels King Hezekiah, "surely ye shall not be established".(Isa.7:9). And again, "For thus saith Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, In returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength."(Isa.30:15) What a message to the people of his day! And this message formed the basis of what became later the doctrine of salvation by faith.

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In conjunction with Amos and Hosea, the contribution of Isaiah is summed up in an essay by Eduard Meyer, who writes, "The step forward which Amos and Hosea and Isaiah took denotes one of the most momentous changes in the history of mankind. The all-subduing force of conscience, or, more exactly, of the conscience of a single individual in opposition to the whole surrounding world, came into action and made itself felt for the first time. The consequences of the struggle fought out in the eighth century and the seventh century within the small area of Palestine are still felt throughout the whole range of our civilization." (*)

In closing this resumé of the prophet's life and teaching we would remind ourselves that the messages of Isaiah were, for the most part, the result of the political, the social, and the religious conditions in which he lived and moved and with which he was faced. S. R. Driver informs us that "the prophets, one and all, stand in an intimate relation to the history of their times", and "it is thus essential, if the work of any prophet is to be properly understood, to study it in the light of contemporary history". (**) It is to a consideration of this background and its illumination by the findings of archaeological research that we now turn.

(*) "The Development of the Individual in Ancient History", in KLEINE SCHRIFTEN, page 213. Quoted by Prof. E. A. Leslie, in classroom lecture.

(**) "Isaiah: His Life and Times", page 4.

IV. THE POLITICAL DRAMA IN THE AGE OF ISAIAH IN THE LIGHT OF ARCHAEOLOGY.

First of all, we will proceed to unfold the political drama that was taking place in Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Assyria during the eighth century B.C. and with which the prophet Isaiah was directly concerned. This will enable us to see the great prophet in the rôle of statesman. Surely, Isaiah lived in the midst of such 'world-conditions' as made his task as difficult a one in his day as some of the 'world-problems' confronting some of our national leaders^{make theirs} today. The little kingdom of Judah found itself in the midst of a turbulent sea: its rival kingdom in the north, the kingdom of Israel, had joined hands with Syria in an attempt to overthrow Judah; from the 'land of the sun-rise' there was news of the might and power of a nation that was conquering all before them - the empire of the Assyrians; in the south was Egypt, at one time powerful and strong and controlling most of Palestine, once again lifting up her head under the leadership of Ethiopian kings. In Jerusalem, the capital of Judah and the home of Isaiah, there was much difference of opinion as to the proper course to pursue. King Ahaz, in his fear of what the Syria-Israel coalition might do, appealed to Assyria, and by so doing involved Judah in such an 'entangling alliance' that dire consequences followed. But Ahaz and the pro-Assyrian party believed that Assyria was Judah's only hope. On the other hand, there was a pro-Egyptian group that believed that Egypt was as powerful as ever, and that 'lobbied' to get the king to line up with Egypt against Assyria. Israel and Syria demanded that Judah join them against Assyria. Egypt was only

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE ARAB WORLD
THE LIGHT OF THE PRESENT

First of all, we will proceed to study the political
situation that has taken place in Palestine, Syria, Egypt and
Iraq during the last century. We will study the
political situation in these countries. This will enable us
to see the great role in the life of Palestine, Syria,
Iraq and the Arab world in the light of modern 'world-situation', as we
say. We will study the role of the Arab world in the 'Arab-
world', 'world-situation' and of our national independence.
The little Kingdom of Jordan found itself in the midst of a
crucial moment: the Arab Kingdom in the north, the Kingdom
of Iraq, had joined hands with Syria in an attempt to over-
throw Jordan; from the land of the two-rivers, there was born of
the might and power of a nation that was supporting all before
it - the empire of the Assyrians in the north and Egypt,
at one time powerful and strong and controlling most of Asia-
Minor, once again lifting up her head under the leadership of
Fakhri Pasha. In Jerusalem, the capital of Jordan and the
land of Jordan, there was much discussion of opinion as to the
proper course to pursue. The Arab, in the face of the
Arab-Jordan coalition of the Arab, opposed to Syria, and by
the Arab-Jordan coalition in such an 'unpleasant situation', that
the consequences followed. But then the two-Jordanian
party believed that Jordan was not a 'only hope'. On the
other hand, there was a pro-Syrian group that believed that
Syria was as powerful as ever, and that 'Jordan' should be
left to live up with Syria against Assyria. Jordan and Syria
remained that Jordan join them against Assyria, Egypt and only

interested in Judah's being a buffer state for the former's protection from Assyria. The prophet Isaiah, sensitive to this whole situation, realized that only an open and frank policy on the part of Judah, a policy of neutrality and of trust in Jehovah, would pay in the long run, and so he counseled 'non-interference' and faith in Jehovah.

With this general survey of the political situation before us, we now proceed to follow the whole story in detail.

A. The Kings of Judah and Israel

In Isaiah 1:1 we read, "The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah." Isaiah was born sometime during the reign of Uzziah, and it was in the year that this king died that the prophet received his call to the prophetic ministry. He spent his youth in the closing days of the prosperous reign of this monarch, who is also spoken of as Azariah, and the prophet's active ministry falls in the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah.

In the northern kingdom of Israel Isaiah was contemporary with part of the reign of Jeroboam II and with Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, Pekah and Hoshea and the end of Israel as a kingdom in 722 B.C.

Uzziah, or Azariah, had a long and prosperous reign. The Chronicler tells us, (II Chron. 26):

"And all the people of Judah took Uzziah, who was sixteen years old, and made him king in the room of his father Amaziah. He built Elath, and restored it to Judah....and he reigned fifty and two years in Jerusalem....

And he went forth and warred against the Phillistines, and brake down the wall of Gath, and the wall of Jabneh, and the wall of Ashdod; and he built cities in the country of Ashdod, and among the Philistines..... And the Ammonites gave gifts to Uzziah: and his name spread abroad even to the entering in of Egypt; for he waxed exceeding strong.

Moreover Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the corner gate, and at the valley gate, and at the turning of the wall, and fortified them. And he built towers in the wilderness, and hewed out many cisterns, for he had much cattle; in the lowland also, and in the plain: and he had husbandmen and vine-dressers in the mountains and in the fruitful fields; for he loved husbandry."

We read further that he had 2600 mighty men of valor, and an army of over three hundred thousand men for whom he prepared "shields, and spears, and helmets, and coats of mail, and bows, and stones for slinging". (II Chron.26:12,13). But he became a leper and was forced to share his throne with his son, Jotham, until his death, and also had to dwell in a separate home by himself.

As we said above, the reign of Uzziah was contemporary with that of Jeroboam II in Israel, who reigned for over forty years. We read that "he restored the border of Israel from the entering in of Hamath unto the sea of the Arabah". (II Kings 14:25).

This prosperity of the two kingdoms followed upon the death of the Assyrian king Adad-nirari (812 - 782 B.C.), who crushed Syria in 797, and upon the consequent weakness of the Assyrian empire that followed which made it impossible for her kings to journey into the West. Dr. Price says that "the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, under Jeroboam II and

Uzziah, respectively, mark the acme of political and commercial prosperity of the dual kingdom. Their combined territory was now almost coterminous with the Davidic and Solomonian realm.... This prosperity of Israel and Judah led to their decay." (*)

We have already referred to the fact that Uzziah hewed out many cisterns, because he had much cattle in the Shephelah and the tableland; that he loved husbandry and had many husbandmen and vinedressers in the mountains and in the fields; and that to protect his flocks in the wilderness he built towers. Many of these towers exist to this day, revealing their date by the potsherds to be found within their ruins. Olmstead speaks of one of these forts which was discovered by his party in 1905 and which was verified later by the explorations of C. L. Wooley and T. E. Lawrence in the "Wilderness of Zin".

"In 'the Gorge of the Fountain', a little distance down from the spring associated with Moses, is a ruined mound, the only one of its sort in the Negeb proper. Excavation has shown it a fort, nearly two hundred feet long by over a hundred and thirty wide, with skewed towers at the corners and in the centre of each side. Up to ten feet, the walls were built solid, of small stones and mud, and faced with carefully selected more or less regular rocks; above this height, there were small rooms in the wall and the interior. Two lesser forts commanded the little plains to the north on the 'Road to Shur'. Under the protection of these forts lived the husbandmen (of Azariah) in circular or quadrangular stone shelters, roofed by bush or a bit of goat's hair cloth." (**)

In reference to the many cisterns which Uzziah is said to have hewn out, it may be said that excavation work in all

(*) Ira M. Price, "The Monuments and the O.T." page 288

(**) A. T. Olmstead, "History of Palestine and Syria". p.417f.

parts of Palestine has brought to light a large number of cisterns, dating from different periods in Palestinian history. At Tell en-Nasbeh (ancient Mizpah) at least nine cisterns were found, dating from the period (1000 - 600 B.C.). One of these was large enough to hold fifty people standing on the floor, and had five shafts or openings for drawing water. (*).

Because of the fact that they mention the name, Uzziah, it is of interest to us to note that two seals, probably of high officials of king Uzziah, have been found. They read as follows: "Abiyo, servant of Uzziyo"; "Shebaniyo, servant of Uzziyo".

Before leaving Uzziah, we desire to call attention to a Funerary Tablet bearing his name which was found by Dr. E. L. Sukenik of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. On Feb. 9, 1931 while he was examining antiquities which had been collected by the Archemandrite Antonin (who was in Palestine from 1865 - 1894) the former head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Palestine, and which had been placed in a small museum located in the Russian Orthodox Eleona-Church on the Mount of Olives, Dr. Sukenik found an Aramaic inscription of unusual appearance and text. "It was a slab of hard light limestone 35 cms. long, 34 cms. wide, and 6cms. thick.....in almost perfect condition save for slight breaks in the surface and on the edges of the tablet." (**) There are four lines to the text, reading as follows: THE BONES OF UZZIAH, KING OF JUDAH, WERE

(*) Duncan, "Digging up Biblical History", vol.I, page 218.

(**) See Palestine Expedition Fund Quarterly Statement, October 1931, pages 217 - 221.

BROUGHT HITHER; NOT TO BE OPENED." Dr. Sukenik is quite sure that the bones of Uzziah were removed from their original burial place "in the field of burial which belonged to the kings; for, they said, He is a leper" (II Chron.26:23) and that this inscription was placed on the new tomb. The fact that the tablet was in the Russian church for forty years is one item in the line of evidence that makes Dr. Sukenik think that it was not a forgery, even though the tablet was in almost perfect condition.

With regard to Jeroboam II, excavations at Samaria, which was the capital of the northern kingdom of Israel, have shown that this king extended his palace beyond that of the ones built by Omri and Ahab in the ninth century. At the southwest corner of the palace he built a large round tower, no less than eighty-one feet in diameter. (*)

Jeroboam II was followed by Zechariah, who reigned in Israel only six months when he was murdered by Shallum, thereby bringing to an end the dynasty of Jehu after a rule of a hundred years. Shallum reigned for one month, and he was in turn killed by Menahem. One thing of importance in the reign of Menahem is the fact that he was forced to pay tribute to Pul, king of Assyria, otherwise known as Tiglath-pileser III, of whom we shall speak more later. Menahem was succeeded by his son Pekahiah, who reigned two years, and then was slain by his captain, Pekah, who with the help of fifty Gileadites conspired against him. Pekah, in league with Rezin of Damascus, attacked Jerusalem and king Ahaz

(*) See "Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908 - 1910", by Reisner - Fisher - Lyon. pages 117ff.

THOMAS WILSON; NOT TO BE CONFUSED. Dr. Wilson is
quite sure that the bones of Wilson were removed from their
original burial place "in the field of burial which belonged
to the king; for, they said, he is a king" (11/11/1908:23)
and that this identification was placed on the new tomb. The
fact that the tablet was in the burial chamber for forty
years is one item in the line of evidence that makes it
certain that it was not a forgery, even though the
tablet was in almost perfect condition.

This regard to Jeremiah II, excavations at Beania,
which was the capital of the northern kingdom of Israel,
have shown that this king extended his reign beyond that
of the king built by David and that in the ninth century.
At the northern corner of the palace he built a large
roomy house, no less than eighty-one feet in diameter. (11/11/1908:23)
Jeremiah II was followed by Jeroboam, who reigned
in Israel only six months when he was murdered by Shallum,
thereby bringing to an end the dynasty of Jeroboam. (11/11/1908:23)
of a hundred years. Shallum reigned for one month, and he
was in turn killed by Zimri. One thing of importance in
the reign of Zimri is the fact that he was forced to pay
tribute to the king of Assyria, who was then known as Tiglath-
pileser III, of whom we shall speak more later. Zimri was
succeeded by his son Omri, who reigned two years, and
then was slain by his captain, Baasha, who with the help of
fifty soldiers assassinated him. Baasha, in league
with Baal of Bezer, attacked Jerusalem and King Asa.

(11/11/1908:23) See "Excavations at Beania, 1908 - 1910", p.
vol. 1 - 1908 - 1910, page 111.

but failed to capture the city. In 733 B.C. Tiglathpileser III captured Damascus, invaded Galilee and took possession of many of its cities, and finally recognized Hoshea as king of Israel who had made a conspiracy against Pekah and had put him to death. Hoshea reigned until 722 B.C. when Samaria was taken by Sargon II, bringing the northern kingdom to an untimely end.

In Judah, meanwhile, Uzziah was followed by his son Jotham, most of whose reign was during the later years of his father, who became a leper and was thereby incapacitated for ruling. He ruled sixteen years, and probably was king after his father's death for only a year or two. He was followed by Ahaz, "who walked in the way of the kings of Israel, yea, and made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen." (II Kings 16:3,4). It was during his reign that the attack was made on Judah by the combined forces of Syria and Israel, and which led Ahaz to call in Assyria to aid him, thereby making Judah a vassal of Assyria. Ahaz was succeeded by Hezekiah who brought about a religious reformation in Israel. He was faced with the crisis attendant upon the invasion of the great Assyrian king, Sennacherib. But the reign of these last two kings of Judah -- Ahaz and Hezekiah -- will be dealt with more in detail under other topics.

We have taken a hasty review of the kings of Judah and Israel who belong to the times of the prophet Isaiah. Now we shall proceed to follow in turn the fortunes of Judah in relation to Israel, to Egypt, and to the Assyrian Empire.

but failed to capture the city. In 1758, the British
engineers, however, improved the fortifications and took possession of
the city of the island, and finally captured the fort on the
island and had built a considerable fort on the island
and the island. The British returned until 1760, when the British
was taken by the British, bringing the British to an
end.

In 1760, however, the British was followed by the
British, and the British was followed by the British
the British, who became a power and was the British
for the British. He ruled the British, and the British
after the British's death for only a year or two. He was
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relation to the British, to the British, and to the British.

B. The Relation of Judah to Israel

The Syro-Ephraimitish War

The Syro-Ephraimitish War (734 B.C.) was the first great political crisis which Judah was called upon to face during the lifetime of Isaiah. It was the beginning of the career of Isaiah as a statesman and as an adviser to the king, and it drew forth from the prophet some of his greatest words.

(1) The Causes and Course of the War

The causes of this war are to be found in the desire of Israel and Syria to defeat the purposes and the power of Assyria in the West, and in the refusal of the kingdom of Judah to participate in this rebellion and join this alliance. It was not a new thing for Israel and Syria to join hands in a military venture. On one of the monuments of Shalmaneser it states that when that Assyrian king was waging war against Benhadad, who ruled at Damascus, that Ahab of Israel was one of the confederates of Benhadad and that Ahab sent ten thousand men and two thousand chariots to assist the Syrian king against Shalmaneser.^(*) Probably this alliance took place during the three years spoken of in the book of Kings when there was peace between Israel and Syria for the period of three years (I Kings 22:1); for from the book of Kings we infer that most of the reign of king Ahab was spent in warfare against Syria. And now with the revival of Assyrian power under the mighty Tiglath-pileser these rival powers once again joined forces to resist the encroachment of the Assyrian armies upon the West.

(*) Barton, 6th ed. Revised. p. 457

Already the Assyrian conqueror, Tiglath-pileser, had been in the West. During the reign of Menahem of Israel "there came against the land Pul the king of Assyria; and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand. And Menahem exacted the money of Israel, even of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give to the king of Assyria. So the king of Assyria turned back, and stayed not there in the land." (II Kings 15:19,20). In the record of his campaign for the year 738 B.C. Tiglath-pileser tells of holding a sort of "darbar" of tributary princes and among a list of several kings we find the names of Menahem, king of Israel, and of Rezin, king of Damascus. The list as contained in his Annals is: (*)

- (50) Tribute of Kushtashpi, the Kummukhite, Rezin the Damascene, Menahem, the Samaritan,
- (51) Hiram, the Tyrian, Sibitti-baal, the Gebalite, Urikke, the Queite, Pisiris of Carchemish, Eniel
- (52) the Hamathite, Panammu, the Samalite, Tarhulara, the Gangumalite, Sulumal, the Melidite, Dadilu,
- (53) the Kaskite, Ussurmi, the Tabalite, Ushkitti, the Tunite, Urballa, the Tuhante, Tuhammi, the Ishtundite,
- (54) Urimme, the Hushimnite, Zabibe, Queen of Arabia, gold, silver, lead, iron, elephant-hide, ivory,
- (55) variegated garments, linen cloths, purple and red wool, (ushu)-wood, (ukarimu)-wood, costly things, a royal treasure, fat sheep whose wool
- (56) was dyed red, winged birds of heaven whose wings were dyed purple, horses, mules, oxen and sheep, camels,
- (57) she-camels, together with their foals, I received.

Thus, it came about that Rezin, the king of Damascus, the capital of Syria, and Pekah, the king of Israel, plotted a rebellion against the rule of Assyria, and urged other western states to join with them. King Ahaz, of Judah,

(*) Barton, "Archaeology and the Bible". 6th ed. 1933. p.463

already the Egyptian government, which is now
 been in the past, during the reign of Amenhotep III.
 "There came against the land the king of Egypt, and
 he made him a thousand talents of silver, that his
 hand might be with him to continue the kingdom in his hand.
 And Amenhotep exacted the money of Israel, even of all the
 mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver,
 to give to the king of Egypt. In the third year of Amenhotep
 turned back, and stayed not there in the land." (11) Kings
 12:18, 20. In the second of his campaigns for the year
 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20.
 of Egyptian history and some a list of several kings as
 find the names of Amenhotep, king of Egypt, and of Egypt.
 King of Egypt. The list is contained in his name in (12)
 (12) Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20.
 the Egyptian, Amenhotep, the Egyptian, Amenhotep,
 (13) Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20.
 (14) Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20.
 (15) Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20.
 (16) Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20.
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 (18) Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20.
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 (21) Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20.
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 (23) Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20.
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 (100) Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20. Kings 12:18, 20.

refused to enter this alliance. In the attempt either to coerce Ahaz, or to overthrow him as king and place upon the throne of Judah a puppet ruler, "the son of Tabeel", "then Rezin king of Syria and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel came up to Jerusalem to war: and they besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him." (II Kings 16:5).

Ahaz was faced with a severe crisis. "And it was told the house of David, saying, Syria is confederate with Ephraim. And his heart trembled, and the heart of his people as the trees of the forest tremble with the wind." (Isa. 7:2).

As time went on Ahaz's forces were defeated in the field, the Syrian army invaded the southern part of Judah and recovered from Judah its naval port of Elath on the Gulf of Akabah, driving out the Jews and peopling it with Syrians.

(II Kings 16:6). Taking advantage of the opportunity, the Philistines also invaded the lowland and the South of Judah and captured some of the towns, among them being Beth-shemesh, Aijalon, and Timnah; and the Edomites also spoiled the land and carried away some captives. (II Chr. 28:17, 18) And beside this, Ahaz knew that there was a party in Judah who favored the cause of Rezin and Pekah. (Isa. 8:6).

(2) The Attitude of the Prophet Isaiah

King Ahaz was contemplating calling in the aid of Assyria to protect Judah. He went out to inspect the walls of Jerusalem and to look after the water supply; and the prophet Isaiah met him "at the end of the conduit of the upper pool, in the highway of the fuller's field". (Isa. 8:3).

With his son, Shear-jashub, standing near by, Isaiah faced the king and delivered his message. Driver draws a picture of this scene in the way of contrasting the two men, the king and the prophet: "The contrast of character and bearing between the king and the prophet is marked. Ahaz is timid and helpless, takes no position, and displays no promptitude or courage. Isaiah, on the contrary, steps forward with assurance: he is collected and calm: and his complete control of the political situation impresses us forcibly. With prophetic intuition he has discerned already that the power and splendor of the allied kingdoms is doomed to extinction." (*) With the whole strength of his character giving force and emphasis to his words, the prophet declares to the trembling king:

"Take heed, and be quiet; fear not neither let thy heart be faint, because of these two tails of smoking firebrands, for the fierce anger of Rezin and Syria, and of the son of Remaliah. Because Syria, Ephraim, and the son of Remaliah (note how the prophet does not even speak the name of Pekah) have purposed evil against thee, saying, Let us go up against Judah, and vex it, and let us make a breach therein for us, and set up a king in the midst of it, even the son of Tabeel; thus saith the Lord Jehovah, It shall not stand, neither shall it come to pass. For the head of Syria is Damascus, and the head of Damascus is (only) Rezin; and within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken in pieces so that it shall not be a people: and the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head of Samaria is (merely) Remaliah's son. If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established, (or, as G. A. Smith puts it: If ye have not FAITH, ye cannot have STAITH). (Isa. 7:4-9).

Such was the counsel of the prophet. But the king had

(*) Driver: "Isaiah, His Life and Times". page 32.

already determined upon what steps he would take. To him, it seemed like presumption to take such an attitude of 'non-resistance' as Isaiah had advised. He had no faith in the prophet or his message. There was but one course for him to take: call to Assyria for help against his foes. And then the prophet continued with a warning to the king:

"The power on which you rely for safety, and which will indeed for the moment save you, will afterwards bring upon you a retribution which you have not foreseen: it will make your land the arena of a conflict with Egypt; your country will be swept bare, and the simplest pastoral produce -- curdled milk and honey -- will be the sole means of subsistence for the survivors."
(Driver's paraphrase of Isa.7:18-25) (*)
"Forasmuch as this people have refused the waters of Shiloh that go softly, and rejoice in Rezin and Remaliah's son; now, therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the River, strong and many, even the king of Assyria and all his glory; and it shall come up over all its channels, and go over all its banks; and it shall sweep ONWARD INTO JUDAH; it shall overflow and pass through; it shall reach even to the neck; and the stretching out of its wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel."
(Isa. 8:5-8).

And then the prophet proceeded to justify his message and his viewpoint. He found consolation in the fact that Jehovah had spoken to him:

"For thus hath Yahweh said to me with inescapable force,
Warning me not to walk in the way of this people:
'Call ye not an alliance what this people calls
an alliance!
And its fear fear not ye, nor dread!
Yahweh of hosts, Him regard ye as holy.
Let him be your fear, and him your dread.
For he shall become a holy place, a stone of
striking, a rock of stumbling to both houses
of Israel,
A trap, and a snare, to the ruler of Jerusalem.'" (**)

(*) Driver: Isaiah, page 33

(**) Isa. 8:11-14. Translation by W. C. Graham, in "The Prophets and Israel's Culture". page 53.

(3) The Outcome and the Result upon Judah

Ahaz, determined to follow his own plans, "sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son: come up, and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, who rise up against me. And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of Jehovah, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria. And the king of Assyria hearkened unto him; and the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin". (II Kings 16:7-9) So says the Hebrew narrator. We read further that "in the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maacah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali; and he carried them captive to Assyria. And Hoshea the son of Elah made a conspiracy against Pekah the son of Remalish, and smote him, and slew him, and reigned in his stead." (II Kings 15:29ff).

The Annals of Tiglath-pileser confirm this sequence of events. In 734-732 he was in Syria and northern Palestine. Syria was devastated; Rezin was besieged in his capital city of Damascus. North Israel was overrun; Pekah was assassinated by Hoshea whom Tiglath-pileser appointed to the vacant throne. Even Moab and Ammon and the Philistines were punished. Damascus fell in 732 B.C., which marked the end of the Kingdom of Syria. The conqueror held court at Damascus, and among the subject princes who did him honor and homage was king Ahaz of Judah.

Selections from the Annals bearing on these points follow:

- (1)his (Rezin's) warriors I captured.....I over-threw with my weapons.
- (2)before him.
- (3) the charioteers and.....their weapons I broke.
- (4) the (ir chariots and) horses I seized.....his bowmen....
- (5)who carried shields and spears my hands over-threw, their battle
- (6)to save his life he fled alone and
- (7)like a mouse(?) entered the gate of his city.
His captains alive
- (8) (my hands captured and on) stakes I hung them and exhibited them to his land. 45 people(?) from his camp
- (9)I brought together before his city, and I shut him in like a bird in a cage. His parks
- (10)his orchards, which were without number, I cut down and did not leave one.
- (11)Hadara, the home of the father of Rezin of Damascus,
- (12) (the place where) he was born, I besieged, I captured. 800 people, together with their possessions,
- (13)their cattle, and sheep I took as spoil.
750 prisoners of the city Kurussa.
- (14)prisoners of the city of Irma, 550 prisoners of the city Mituna, I captured. 591 cities....
- (15)of 16 districts of Damascus like a deluge heap I destroyed.
- *****
- (19)Hanno of Gaza
- (20) fled before my weapons and escaped to Egypt.
The city, Gaza,
- (21) (I captured. His goods) his possessions, his gods (I took as spoil).....my royal image
- (22)in the palace of (Hanno I set up).
- *****
- (27) The country of the house of Omri.....all its people,
- (28) (and their possessions) I carried away unto Assyria.
Pekah, their king, they had overthrown. Hoshea
- (29) (as king) over them I placed. 10 talents of gold....
talents of silver I received as tribute from them.

- (57) Tribute of Kushtashpi, the Kummuchite, Urikki, the Queite, Sibittibaal, the Gebalite, Pisiris, the Carchemishite,)
- (58) Eni-el, the Hamathite, Panammu, the Samalite, Tarhulara, the Gurgumite, Sulu(mal, the Melidite, Dadilu, the Kaskite),
- (59) Ussurmi, the Tabalite, Urassurme, the Tabalite, Ushitti, the Tunit, Urballa, the Turhanite, Tuhamm(e, the Ishtundite, Urimme, the Hushimnite),

- (60) Mataubaal, the Arvadite, Saniper, the Beth-Ammonite, Salamanu, the Moabite,.....
- (61) Mitinti, the Askelonite, Jehoahaz (Ahaz), the Judean, Kaushmalaka, the Edomite, Mus.....
- (62) Hanno, the Gazaite, gold, silver, lead, iron, tin, variegated garments, linen, red cloths of their lands,
- (63) every costly thing, products of sea and dry land produced by their countries, royal treasures, horses, mules, harnesses.....(I received). (*)

So the kingdom of Syria, whose head was Damascus, and the old city of Damascus, whose head was Rezin, came to an untimely end, as Isaiah had said. The kingdom of Israel was badly crippled, and remained loyal to Assyria until the death of Tiglath-pileser in 727 B.C., when Hoshea, taking advantage of a change of rulers, renounced his allegiance to the Assyrians and sought an alliance with Egypt. The result was disastrous for Israel. After a three year's siege, Samaria fell in 722 B.C., the credit for which is taken by Sargon II, who, in telling of this victory, says:

"At the beginning of my reign, in my first year.....Samaria I besieged, I captured. 27,290 people from its midst I carried captive. 50 chariots I took there as an addition to my royal force..... I returned and made more than formerly to dwell. People from lands which my hands had captured I settled in the midst. My officers over them as governors I appointed. Tribute and Taxes I imposed upon them after the Assyrian manner." (**)

Thus, the words of Isaiah to king Ahaz came true:

"Within threescore and five years" (Isa.7:8) after Judah was invaded, Ephraim was broken and ceased to be a people. As a matter of fact it was only twelve years from the time when Isaiah spoke to the king until the northern kingdom of Israel fell, never to rise again.

(*) Barton: Archaeology and the Bible. 6th ed. 1933. p.464.

(**) Ibid., page 465

But in becoming a vassal of Assyria, Ahaz opened the way for the success of Assyria in the West. Whether he realized it or not, the act of king Ahaz only made it possible for the barriers between Judah and Assyria to be swept away, so that there was no Syria or Israel to bear the brunt of a first attack. The result of the king's policy was felt in the reign of his son, Hezekiah, when Judah faced the invasions of Sargon and of his successor, Sennacherib.

As for the prophet, it appears that he withdrew from the public eye for the time being, and confined his work to teaching a group of disciples. "Bind thou up the testimony, seal the teaching among my disciples. And I will wait for Jehovah, that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will look for him. Behold, I and the children (disciples) whom Jehovah hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel from Jehovah of hosts, who dwelleth in mount Zion." (Isa. 8:16-18)

C. The Relation of Judah to Egypt

With the awakening of Assyria to new life and energy in the eighth century B. C., resulting in the sweeping away of both Syria and Israel, the kingdom of Judah had become the battleground for the two great powers of the ancient world, namely, Assyria and Egypt. "Like the iron upon the anvil, therefore," says Sayce, "Judah lay between two hostile forces, one of which was burning with the youthful fires of enterprise and lust of conquest, while

the other still remembered its former glories and the empire it had wielded in Asia." (*)

(1) Egypt in the Eighth Century B. C.

The middle of the eighth century B.C. found Egypt once more divided among a number of warring princes whose power did not extend much beyond the limits of the cities in which they had established themselves. Breasted tells us that under Osorkon III (23 rd Dynasty) the power of the dominant house rapidly waned until there was at least an independent lord or petty king in every city of the Delta and up the river Nile as far as Her-mopolis. "We are acquainted", he says, "with the names of eighteen of these dynasts, whose struggles among themselves now led to the total dissolution of the Egyptian state. The land again resolved itself into those small and local political units of which it had consisted in pre-historic days, before there existed any consolidated and centralized government. Its power was completely paralyzed and the political sagacity of such statesmen as the Hebrew prophets was of itself, without the aid of prophetic vision, quite sufficient to perceive how utterly futile was the policy of the Egyptian party in Israel, which would have depended upon the support of Egypt against the oppression of Assyria." (**)

Such a state of affairs opened the road to the invader, and, taking quick advantage of the opportunity afforded by the weakness of Egypt, Ethiopian armies

(*) Sayce: Life and Times of Isaiah, page 21.

(**) Breasted: A History of Egypt, page 536.

from the south marched into 'the land of the Nile' to burn, to slay and to plunder.

Pianki, (cir. 741 B.C.) an Ethiopian, began the task of the absorption of Egypt into his hands. One of his strongest opponents was Tefnakhte, dynast of Sais, in the western Delta. Pianki lay siege to Hermopolis and forced it to surrender. When he took possession of the place, and had inspected the king's palace and treasury, he entered into the stables to look over the horses. It is recorded in his Annals that "His Majesty proceeded to the stable of the horses and the quarters of the foals. When he saw that they had suffered hunger, he said, 'I swear as Re loves me.....it is more grievous in my heart that my horses have suffered hunger than any evil deed that thou hast done in the prosecution of thy desire.' (*) Later, Memphis was captured; and the conqueror went to Heliopolis to the holy of holies of the sun-god, where the latter recognized him as his son and heir to the throne of Egypt. This mighty ruler left a recording of his deeds in the form of Annals inscribed on stone. From the "Inscription of Piankhi" we quote the following: (**)

"Then His Majesty sailed upstream with a glad heart, the shores on either side of him rejoicing. West and East they seized the sistrum, jubilating in the presence of His Majesty, psalming and jubilating as they raised the song 'O twice mighty ruler, Piankhi, mighty ruler, thou comest, having gained the dominion of the Northland. Thou makest bulls into women. Happy the heart of

(*) Breasted: History of Egypt, page 541.

(**) Cambridge Ancient History. Vol III. page 273

the mother who loves thee and the man who begat thee. Those who are in the valley give praise to her, the cow that has borne a bull. Thou art unto eternity, thy might endureth, O Ruler beloved of Thebes!"

Such was the glorious home-coming of Piankhi. But before his death, he had lost most of his conquests and matters had become almost as they were before he began them.

About 712 B.C. Shabaka came to the throne of Ethiopia and he began once again the conquest of Egypt. ^{Possibly} he is the 'So' of the Old Testament to whom Hoshea of Israel sent messengers. (II Kings 17:4). Also, he is supposed to be the Sib'i mentioned in the Assyrian records, who, in 720 B.C., when Sargon defeated the Egyptians at Raphia, is referred to in the inscription as the turtanu or commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army. Probably he was acting under Piankhi. Petrie says, "there is no difficulty in the stages of degradation of the name from Shabaka to Shaba, Saba, Seba, Sua, and, worst of all in English, So."(*) He is also referred to sometimes as Seve. This king overthrew the representative of the Egyptian royal family, Bocchoris, whom the Egyptian historian, Manetho, says was burned alive. Lower Egypt was completely subdued, and so far did he succeed in crushing all opposition to himself and in welding Egypt and Ethiopia together, that he became the founder of the Twenty-fifth or Ethiopian Dynasty of Egypt. Probably one reason why he was so successful in this accomplishment was that he claimed descent from the ancient royal line of Egypt.

(*) Petrie: Egypt and Israel. 1911. page 76

Before his death Shabaka was forced to meet the Assyrian army in battle at Raphia, where he was defeated and Gaza, his ally, was captured. The Egyptian army was placed by Shabaka in charge of his nephew, a son of Piankhi named Taharka (Tirhakah), who some thirteen or fourteen years later became king of Ethiopia. At Kuyunjik was found the fragments of a clay tablet bearing the seal of Shabaka and a king of Assyria. This may indicate or refer to some agreement or treaty between the two nations.

Under Tirhakah the Egyptians and Ethiopians once more began to intermeddle in Palestine. Wishing to keep Judah intact as a buffer state for his own protection, Tirhakah tried to form a league against Assyria, with Jerusalem as the head.

(2) Attitude of Judah and of Isaiah toward Egypt

With the rapid advance on the one hand of Assyria, overthrowing Hamath, Arpad, Damascus and Samaria, and with the revival on the other hand once more of a united Egypt, Judah looked with interest toward Egypt. There was a large Egyptian party in Jerusalem who verily believed that Egypt was as great and powerful as in the days of her former glory and that she could, if so inclined, drive back the armies of Assyria to the Euphrates Valley. "Submission to Assyria meant not only national degradation, but national annihilation as well..... Without help, the hundreds of Judah must succumb to the thousands of Assyria; the power which had swept away the mighty kingdom of Damascus would not be turned back by 'the remnant of Zion'". (*)

(*) Sayce: Life and Times of Isaiah, page 82.

Once again Isaiah came to the front in opposition to a policy of seeking an alliance with Egypt. He cried out:

"Woe to the rebellious children, saith Jehovah, that take counsel, but not of Me; and that cover with a covering, but not of My spirit, that they may add sin to sin: that walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at My mouth; to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt! Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion. For his princes are at Zoan, and his ambassadors are come to Hanes. They shall all be ashamed of a people that cannot profit them, that are not an help nor profit, but a shame, and also a reproach.....Through the land of trouble and anguish, from whence come the lioness and the lion, the viper and fiery flying serpent, they carry their riches upon the shoulders of young asses, and their treasures upon the bunches of camels, to a people that shall not profit them. For Egypt helpeth in vain, and to no purpose: therefore have I called her Rahab that sitteth still.....Wherefore thus saith the Holy One of Israel, Because ye despise this word, and trust in oppression and perverseness, and stay thereon; therefore this iniquity shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant....For thus saith the Lord God,.... In returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength: and ye would not. But ye said, No, for we will flee upon horses; therefore shall ye flee; and, We will ride upon the swift; therefore shall they that pursue you be swift." (Isa. 30) "Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help, and rely on horses, and trust in chariots because they are many, and in horsemen because they are very strong, but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek Jehovah! Yet he also is wise, and will bring evil, and will not call back his words, but will arise against the house of the evil-doers, and against the help of them that work iniquity. Now the Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit: and when Jehovah shall stretch out

his hand, both he that helpeth shall stumble, and he that is helped shall fall, and they all shall be consumed together." (Isa. 31). "Ah, the land of the rustling of wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia: that sendeth ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of papyrus, upon the waters, saying, Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation tall and smooth, to a people terrible from the beginning onward; a nation that meteth out and treadeth down, whose land the rivers divide!" (Isa. 18)

We pause here to note in the above passage the phrase 'Vessels of papyrus'. These are the same small, light barks which are seen so often pictured on the walls of Egyptian tombs, and which may be found in use even today in Abyssinia. "They were made of bundles of reeds lashed together and prolonged into a rostrum, which rises gently above the horizontal level at the prow and bends sharply upward at the stern, forming boats flat-bottomed and keel-less, fairly broad in proportion to their length. These are the craft which the prophet sees scudding hither and thither in the waters of the Nile." (*)

The leader of the Egyptian party in Jerusalem appears to have been Shebna, thought by some to have been of Syrian descent. His activities called forth a denunciation of him by Isaiah, the only instance in which the prophet utters a prophecy against a single person.

"Thus saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts, Go, get thee unto this treasurer, even unto Shebna, which is over the house, and say, What doest thou here?.....I will thrust thee from thine office, and from thy station shall He pull thee down. And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will call My servant Eliakim the son of Hilkiah:.....and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem." (Isa.22:15ff)

(*) Boutflower: Isaiah in the Light of Assyrian Monuments, London. 1930. page 128.

(3) "The Bruised Reed"

In the meantime a confederacy was organized in Palestine. Hezekiah extended his control once again over the cities of Philistia. Phoenicia joined the league, and Moab and Ammon promised their aid. Tirhakah stationed a large army on the border of Egypt ready to lend assistance at the proper time. In 701 B. C. Sennacherib rushed to Palestine to punish this disloyalty. His well-trained army could not be stopped by the league. The Phoenician cities were captured, and the kings of Ammon, Moab and Edom very wisely made peace with the Emperor. The cities of Philistia were seized, and southern Judah was laid waste. The army of Tirhakah, moving up into the south of Judah, was met at Eltekeh and routed by the Assyrians.

When the Rab-shakeh of the Assyrian king appeared before the walls of Jerusalem, demanding the surrender of the city, he called out to the people on the walls, "What confidence is this wherein thou trustest? I say, thy counsel and strength for the war are but vain words: now on whom dost thou trust, that thou hast rebelled against me? Behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt, whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it; so is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all that trust in him." (Isa. 36:4ff)

King Hezekiah must have had his eyes opened to the truth of this after Assyria invaded the land, unimpeded by the armies of Egypt. At any rate, at the time the Rab-shakeh appeared before Jerusalem, Shebna had already been deposed from office and replaced by Eliakin, which

(2) "The Incident"

In the morning a conference was held in the
time. Reaction extended its control over the
cities of Palestine. Reaction joined the League, and
both had been promised their aid. The League
a large army on the border of Egypt ready to lead
one of the League. In 1911, E. B. Edwards
to Palestine to fight the League. The League
army could not be stopped by the League. The League
cities were captured, and the king of Egypt, King
King very easily made peace with the League. The cities
of Palestine were captured, and King of Egypt was
captured. The king of Egypt, moving up into the south
of Egypt, was not as strong as the League.
Then the king of Egypt of the League was captured
before the king of Egypt, demanding the surrender
of the city. He called out to the people in the city,
"What confidence is this? I am King of Egypt. I am
my crown and strength for the war and vain
now on their feet. They are, that they have
against my people, when I was with the king of
this League, even upon Egypt, I am a man
I am, it will go into the hand, and I am
King of Egypt to all that is in the city." (1911)
King of Egypt had his eye turned to the
south of the city. Egypt invaded the city, and
by the king of Egypt. It was not, at the time the
the League captured the League, and had already
been captured from Egypt and replaced by Egypt, which

must have meant that the policy advocated by the former had been abandoned by king Hezekiah. From then on the counsel of those who favored alliance with "the bruised reed" of Egypt received no encouragement from the king of Judah.

But the prophet had found favor with the king. Although his message was not fully followed in the way that he desired, yet the king respected Isaiah and sought him out for advice and counsel during the dark days of the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib.

It did not necessarily take a miraculous vision from Jehovah for Isaiah to see the inadequacy of dependence upon Egypt. His own understanding and insight, clarified and intensified by the sincere trust which he had in Jehovah, penetrated beneath the surface and revealed to him the tragedy that would result from an alliance with Egypt. Fear tends to drive one to trust in 'new deals' and other such mirages; but faith enables one to 'see the facts' and generates a courage and a frankness that leads to salvation.

(D) The Relation of Judah to Assyria

We have come to the closing act, the longest one of all, of the drama of the political situation in which the prophet Isaiah lived and moved: Judah in her relation to the Assyrian empire. Assyria has already appeared on the stage as we have surveyed the fortunes of Judah in her connections with Syria, Israel and Egypt. In fact, it is Assyria that gives unity and coherence to this political drama; for her activities, like those of a villain in a play, produce the various situations and crises and call forth the reactions or movements that make up the story. Without the work of the Assyrian rulers there would have been no alliances and rebellions in the West, except on a small scale, to involve and entangle Judah so that she did not know where to move next in the game of military checkers.

Following the death of Adad-nirari (812-782 B.C.) the strength of the Assyrian emperors weakened so that their time was consumed with troubles at home, thereby giving the West a real vacation from the menace of that country. During the lull that took place between the death of Adad-nirari and the accession of Tiglath-pileser in 745 B.C., as we have already shown, the kingdom of Israel under Jeroboam II and the kingdom of Judah under Uzziah prospered greatly. With the advent of Tiglath-pileser the Assyrian empire was revived and the 'prosperity of the West' slowly came to an end. This ruler marks the beginning of the last period of Assyrian

history which closes with the Fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C.¹ But we are concerned only with the reigns of the four kings who were contemporary with the activity of Isaiah. They are: Tiglath-pileser III, Shalmaneser V, Sargon II, and Sennacherib.

(1) The Reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.)

The general opinion regarding the coming of this ruler to the throne of Assyria is that he was a usurper, probably an able general in the army, who seized the throne at an opportune time. There is an inscription on a brick which was found in the temple of Ashur at Ashur that he claimed to be the son of Adad-nirari, king of Assyria from 812-783 B.C. Adad-nirari was the son of his predecessor, Shamshi-adad, whose wife, Sammuramat, the Semeramis of the classical writers, was a Babylonian princess. But this theory is rejected by Olmstead in his History of Assyria. (page 175).

Dr. Anspacher, in his special history of the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, whom he believes to have been a usurper, says (page IXf):

"The reign of Tiglath-pileser III was from one point of view the most important in Assyrian history, and the revolutionary tendencies which characterized it are of as much importance to civilization as they were to the welfare of Assyria itself. It needed a revolution to make the conservative Assyrian politicians of the time realize that the very existence of the state was in danger. To curtail the immense revenues of the priests so that sufficient means to carry on the extensive military operations always necessary to Assyria's safety might never be lacking, was the immediate aim of the revolution. That result it speedily

history which connects with the fall of Sargon II. 720 B.C.
 But it was concerned only with the reign of Sargon II.
 Kings who were contemporary with the activity of Sargon II.
 They were: Tiglath-pileser III, Shalmaneser V, Sargon II,
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(1) The Reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.)

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 that he claimed to be the son of Ashd-dinur, king of
 Assyria from 812-793 B.C. Ashd-dinur was the son of
 his predecessor, Shalmaneser V, whose wife, Sennacherib,
 the daughter of the famous artist, was a Babylonian
 princess. But this theory is rejected by Gadd in
 his History of Assyria (page 178).
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 so much importance to civilization as they
 were to the welfare of Assyria itself. It
 needed a revolution to give the conservative
 Assyrian politicians of the time a vision
 that the very existence of the state was
 in danger. To tell the truth, the Assyrian
 of the period had not sufficient means to
 carry on the extensive military operations
 which were necessary to Assyria's safety and
 power in the East, and the immediate aim of
 the revolution. That result is especially

achieved. But from the viewpoint of world history it also accomplished a far more valuable work, in that it gave Tiglath-pileser the opportunity so to shape Assyria's policies as to give her a longer lease of life than would otherwise have been hers."

The tasks before him when he ascended the throne were, in the main, three: to conquer Babylonia and thus secure his southern border; to restore Assyrian control over Syria and extend it further in the West; and to guard the northern border of the empire against Urartu of Armenia. He was successful in all three of these major tasks. He made his power dominant in Babylon in the first year of his reign, and later annexed that proud city to Assyria, reigning during the last two years of his life as the actual king of Babylon; for in 729 and again in 728 B.C. he performed the ceremony obligatory upon Babylonian kings of 'taking the hands of Bel'. "He was the first Assyrian monarch to hold the title since Tukulti-Ninurta I". (cir.1290 B.C.) (*) In Babylon Tiglath-pileser was known by the name of Pul, which was his name before he became king of Assyria.

Furthermore, he crippled the kingdom of Urartu in Armenia, and extended his conquests into parts of Media on the east. And, lastly, he made four expeditions into the West, two of which were confined to northern Phoenicia. Through the other two campaigns he brought Israel into submission, receiving from Menahem in 739 tribute and homage, and deporting inhabitants of Galilee, and placing Hoshea upon the throne of Israel; and he conquered Damascus.

(*) Cambridge Ancient History. Vol.III. page 40.

On a clay tablet from Nimrud (729 B.C.) there is this inscription: TIGLATH-PILESER, THE GREAT KING, THE MIGHTY KING, THE KING OF MULTITUDES, THE KING OF ASSYRIA, THE KING OF BABYLON, THE KING OF SHUMER AND AKKAD." This is the character that Sydney Smith says, "may justly be considered the most remarkable figure in Assyrian history." (*) Of like sentiments is Rogers who writes, "He made Assyria a world power, knitting province to province by unparalleled colonizing, and transforming local into imperial sentiment. No king like him even in war had arisen in Assyria before, and in organization and administration he so far excelled them all as to be beyond comparison." (**) McCurdy pays him this tribute: "Tiglath-pileser III did a great deal more than merely restore the old order of things. His administration of 18 years, 745 to 727 B.C., began a new era, not merely in the history of Assyria, but also in the history of the world. Several of his predecessors had made conquests equal, or nearly equal, to his; but he was the first who knew how to retain the possessions thus acquired,---he was the first, indeed, who anywhere ruled over an empire in the true sense of this term. Before him the territory claimed by the rulers of Babylonia and Assyria was held for the most part on a very precarious tenure. The new king introduced new ideas of organization and administration, and these principles,

(*) Cambridge Ancient History. Vol.III. page 41.

(**) History of Babylonia and Assyria. Vol.II. page 301.

steadily acted upon by himself and his successors, finally resulted in the establishment of a comparatively settled government throughout the north-Semitic world." (*) To the same effect is the testimony of Prof. Sayce, who sums up the character of this king as follows: "Tiglath-pileser was a man of great ability and force of character. He excelled as a commander, he equally excelled as an administrator and civil organiser. His campaigns were not mere raids carried on for the sake of plunder, like those of earlier Assyrian sovereigns; they were all conceived with a definite plan.....For the first time in the history of the world the conception of imperial centralization was formed, and an attempt was made to realise it in fact. The second Assyrian empire founded by Tiglath-pileser was thus a new experiment in political history. It marks the beginning of a new era." (**) When so many historians and scholars agree so closely in their estimate of the work of this ruler, it only goes to show how important a ruler he is. This is the king whom Ahaz of Judah called to his aid, and to whom he gave the occasion for intervening in the West.

(2) Isaiah's Opinion of the Assyrians

Isaiah disapproved of dependence upon Assyria, and faithfully warned Ahaz against permitting "this camel to put his nose in the tent" of Judah, for he saw clearly

(*) McCurdy: Prophecy, History and the Monuments. Vol. I. P. 321.

(**) Sayce: Life and Times of Isaiah. Page 40f.

the tragic outcome of such an act. We may profitably note at this point what the prophet thought of the Assyrians. He told Ahaz that the Assyrian king would be a "hired razor" (Isa. 7:20) in the hands of Jehovah. Again, he says:

"Ho, Assyria, the rod of mine anger, the staff in whose hand is mine indignation! I will send him against a profane nation, and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge, to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets." (Isa. 10:5f)

A description of their activities is given in this passage:

"And he will lift up an ensign to the nations from far, and will hiss for them from the end of the earth; and, behold, they shall come with speed swiftly. None shall be weary nor stumble among them; none shall slumber nor sleep; neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken; whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent; their horses' hoofs shall be accounted as flint, and their wheels as a whirlwind; their roaring shall be like a lioness, they shall war like young lions; yea, they shall roar, and lay hold of the prey, and carry it away safe, and there shall be none to deliver." (Isa. 5:26-30)

It will be of interest to compare with this picture of Isaiah's one given by Breasted in "Ancient Times" (p.157):

"The Assyrian forces were the first large armies equipped with weapons of iron. A single arsenal-room of Sargon's palace was found to contain two hundred tons of iron implements. The bulk of the Assyrian army was composed of archers, supported by heavy-armed spearmen and shield bearers. Besides these, the famous horsemen and chariotry of Nineveh became the scourge of the East. For the first time, too, the Assyrians employed the battering-ram and formidable siege machinery. Besides their iron weapons and their war machines the Assyrian soldiers displayed a certain inborn

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ferocity which held all Western Asia in abject terror before the thundering squadrons of Nineveh. (see Nahum 3:2-3). Wherever the terrible Assyrian armies swept through the land, they left a trail of ruin and desolation behind."

Isaiah charges the Assyrians with being haughty and proud, and he verily believed that such pride would be their destruction. To him, the Assyrians were unaware of the fact that Jehovah was using them as a rod to punish Israel and Judah. "Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his heart to destroy, and to cut off nations not a few..... Wherefore it shall come to pass, that...the Lord..... will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks. For he hath said, By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom; for I have understanding..... Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith? Shall the saw magnify itself against him that wieldeth it?" (Isa. 10:7, 12,13,15).

(3) The Reign of Shalmaneser V (727-722 B.C.)

The reign of Shalmaneser V was of short duration, lasting only five years. No Assyrian annals of his reign have come down to us. From II Kings 17:3-5 we learn that when Hoshea of Israel conspired against Assyria with So of Egypt, following the death of Tiglath-pileser, that Shalmaneser invaded Israel and laid siege to Samaria, which after three years fell in 722 B.C. probably just after the death of Shalmaneser. At any rate, Sargon II claims the credit for the capture of the city.

especially when held in the hands of the
subject before the court. (See Volume 21-2)
However the court has decided that
such a trial is not a trial at all.

Indeed, charges the Egyptian with being guilty and
true, and he was believed that such a trial would be
their justification. To him, the Egyptians were innocent
of the fact that they were using him as a tool to
push their own aims. "He said he was not so,
neither did his heart think so; but it is in his heart
to destroy, and to cut off nations not a few....
Therefore he shall come to pass, that... the first....
all punish the traitor of the blood of the king
of Assyria, and the glory of his high father. For he
has said, by the strength of my hand I have done it,
and by my wisdom; for I have understood....
shall the one horse itself against the other horse
thereafter shall the one magnify itself against the
that which is" (Isa. 10:15, 12:15).

(2) The Reign of Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.)

The reign of Sennacherib was of short duration,
lasting only five years. He began his reign in his
reign have come down to us. From 11 Kings 19:35-36 we
learn that when Sennacherib of Assyria besieged
Jerusalem in 701 B.C., following the death of He-
zekiah, that Sennacherib invaded Israel and laid
siege to Jerusalem, which after three years fell in 700 B.C.
probably just after the death of Sennacherib. At any rate,
Sennacherib claims the credit for the capture of the city.

(4) The Reign of Sargon II (722 - 705 B.C.)

Sargon II was another usurper, a military adventurer who seized the crown, and assumed the name of the famous monarch of ancient Babylonia. At one time his existence was doubted, the only historical reference being in the book of Isaiah (20:1). Olmstead reminds us that "today the surly peasants of the vermin-filled little village of Khorsobad pick their way through mud by the aid of bricks bearing the name of Sargon. But for long ages none could read the writing, and the only proof of his existence was due to the accidental fact that a prophet in a petty western kingdom happened to have dated a sermon by the year when his turtanu took Ashdod. So little did this establish his identity, such is the irony of fate, that scholars long agreed that he was the same as that Shalmaneser whose throne he had usurped." (*)

During the first year of his reign the city of Samaria, after a three-year's siege begun by Shalmaneser, surrendered. Sargon refers to it in two different inscriptions, one of which we have quoted in another section of this study. (see page 31). The other one, taken from the Great Khorsabad Inscription, reads: "From the beginning of my reign to my 15th year, the defeat of Humbanigash the Elamite, in the environs of Durilu I accomplished. Samaria I besieged, I captured; I carried captive 27,290 people who dwelt in it. 50 chariots I took from them, and permitted the rest to keep their possessions (?) and placed

(*) History of Assyria, Olmstead. page 282.

(4) The Reign of Sargon II (722 - 705 B.C.)

Sargon II was another warrior, a military adventurer who seized the crown, and assumed the name of the famous monarch of ancient Assyria. As and since his existence was doubted, the only historical reference being in the Book of Isaiah (37:36). Chastel records us that "today the early persons of the various-ruled little village of Khorsabad give their way through and by the aid of Sargon, bearing the name of Sargon. But for long years and could read the writing, and the only proof of his existence was due to the accidental fact that a peasant in a party western kingdom happened to have dated a column by the year when his father took Sargon. He little did this establish his identity, such is the irony of fate, that scholars long agreed that he was the same as that Sargon whose throne he had usurped." (1)

During the first part of his reign the city of Samaria, after a three-year's siege begun by Sennacherib, surrendered. Sargon refers to it in two different inscriptions, one of which we have quoted in another section of this study. (See page 21). The other one, taken from the Great Khorsabad Inscription, reads: "From the beginning of my reign to my 15th year, the date of the fall of Samaria, in the environs of Samaria I accomplished. Samaria I besieged, I captured; I carried captive 27,250 people and sold in 15. 50 chariots I took from them, and furnished the road to keep their possessions (2) and placed

(1) History of Assyria, Chastel, page 282.

my governor over them and imposed on them the tribute of the former king." (*)

Sargon had still more trouble in the West. Ilubidi, an aspirant to the throne of Hamath, stirred up a rebellion. Following this, Hanno, the king of Gaza, made an alliance with Sib'u (So, Shabak) of Egypt. A battle was fought at Raphia, near the border of Egypt, where the rebels were severely defeated. Sib'u saved himself by escaping, but Hanno fell into the hands of the Assyrian emperor. In his Annals, Sargon tells us of these rebellions: (**)

In the second year of my reign Ilubidi, the Hamathite....collected his numerous troops at Qarqar. The oath (of Ashur he despised). Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, Samaria, he made rebellious against me..... Sib'u, his Tartan, he summoned to his aid, and to give fight and battle came into my presence. In the name of Ashur, my lord, I accomplished his defeat. Sib'u fled like a shepherd whose sheep are stolen and escaped. Hanno I caught in my hand and took him bound unto my city Ashur. The city Raphia I devastated, destroyed, burned with fire. I took captive 9,033 people, together with their numerous possessions.

In the Great Khorsabad Inscription, Sargon gives us more information about this same rebellion: (***)

The tribute of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, of Samsi, the Queen of Arabia, Ithamara, the Sabaeen, gold, the.....of the mountain, horses, and camels, I received.

Yaubidi, the Hamathite, a soldier (?), with no right to the throne, a bad Hittite, had set his heart on the kingdom of Hamath; he caused Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, and Samaria to rebel against me, made them of one intent and collected for battle. The

(*) Barton: Archaeology and the Bible. 1933. page 466.
(**) Ibid. page 466
(***) Ibid. page 467

whole army of Ashur I mustered and in Qarqar, his favorite city, I besieged him together with his soldiers. I captured Qarqar, I burned it with fire. His skin I flayed and the partakers of his sin I killed in their cities; I established peace. 200 chariots and 200 horsemen I collected from the people of Hamath, and added to my royal force.

Speaking of Sargon^{who} received tribute of the King of Egypt, Price says that "he is the first Assyrian king who claims to have secured in any way the recognition of Assyrian sovereignty in Egypt up to the point of payment of tribute." (*) Sargon did not follow up his opportunity and pursue Sib'u into Egypt. He was content to impose tribute; and the conquest of Egypt was left for Esarhaddon and Asshurbanipal to accomplish. During the following years Sargon was busy with expeditions into Armenia, Media, and other countries on the north of Mesopotamia. Then trouble broke out in the West again in Philistia. This time the center of the disturbance was Ashdod. Azuri, its king, refused to pay his tribute and incited a rebellion. He was deposed, and his brother Ahimit was placed on the throne. The latter was overthrown by the anti-Assyrian party, and one by the name of Yaman was put in his place. This resulted in the siege of Ashdod, under the direction of the 'Tartan' referred to in Isa. 20:1. Sargon has given us two accounts of this siege. From the Great Khorsabad Inscription is this:

Azuri, king of Ashdod, planned in his heart not to pay tribute, and among the kings of his neighborhood disseminated hatred of Assyria. On account of the evil he had done I cut off his lordship over the people of his land. * * * * * Ashdod, Gath, Ashdudimmu, I besieged, I

(*) Price: The Monuments and the Old Testament. page 309.

whole army of Akhen I assembled and in
 Egypt, his favorite city, I besieged
 him together with his wife. I put
 him to flight, I burned his city, I
 with I killed and the captives of his
 city I killed in their midst; I carried
 them away. 700 chariots and 200
 horses I collected from the people
 of Hamath, and added to my royal forces.

Was

Speaking of Sargon, the king of Assyria, the king of Egypt,

thus says that "he is the first Assyrian king who claims

to have ascended in any way the recognition of Assyria

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was overthrown by the anti-Assyrian party, and one by the

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siege of Ashdod, under the direction of the 'Turan'.

referred to in Isa. 37:37. Sargon has given us two accounts

of this siege. From the Great Khorsabad Inscription is this:

Ashdod, king of Ashdod, planned in his
 heart not to pay tribute, and among the
 kings of his neighborhood dissatisfied
 with Ashdod, he assembled an army of the evil
 he had done I cut off his head and I put
 his head on a lance. I carried his head
 to Ashdod, his capital, I besieged, I

(*) Ptolemy: The Heliopolis and the Old Testament, page 307.

conquered. I took as spoil his goods, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his possessions, the treasures of his palace, together with the people of his land. I seized those cities anew, and settled in them peoples of lands I had captured from among (the lands) of the east.....With the people of Assyria I numbered them, and they bore my yoke. (*)

On what is known as the Prism Fragment of Sargon is still another account of the siege of Ashdod. It reads:

In the 9th (error for 11th) year of my reign I marched.....to the coast of the great sea....Azuri, King of Ashdod,.... Ahimiti.....his younger(?) brother....I exalted over them.....tribute and taxes of my lordship.....like those of..kings, I imposed upon them.....The evil.....in order not to pay tribute.....their princesthey drove him away.....Yamani, a soldier, they appointed to kingship over them.Their city....in its environs a moat.....cubits in depth they dug, they reached the water-level.....To (punish) Philistia, Judah, Edom, Moab, who inhabit the sea-coast, payers of tribute, and taxes to Ashur, my lord. Planning rebellion and untold evil against me, they bore their pledges to Pharaoh, King of Egypt, a prince who could not help them, and sought his aid. I, Sargon, the faithful prince, who honors the oath of Nabu and Marduk, who guards the name of Ashur, caused my trusty troops to cross the Tigris and Euphrates at high water. As for him, Yamani, their king, who had trusted to his own power, and had not submitted to my lordship, he heard of the advance of my army. The fear of Ashur, my lord, cast him down, and towhich is on the bank of the river.....waters.....his land....far away.....he fled.....Ashdod..... (**)

We have been reading about the siege of Ashdod by the Assyrian king, Sargon II. That same year was the occasion for a prophecy from the lips of the prophet Isaiah:

(*) Barton, page 467

(**) Ibid. page 468

In the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod, when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him, and he fought against Ashdod and took it; at that time Jehovah spake by Isaiah the son of Amoz, saying, Go, and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins, and put thy shoe from off thy foot. And he did so, walking naked and barefoot. And Jehovah said, Like as my servant hath walked naked and barefoot to be for three years a sign and a wonder concerning Egypt and concerning Ethiopia; so shall the king of Assyria lead away the captives of Egypt, and the exiles of Ethiopia, young and old, naked and barefoot, and with buttocks uncovered, to the shame of Egypt. And they shall be dismayed and confounded, because of Ethiopia their expectation, and of Egypt their glory. And the inhabitant of this coast-land shall say in that day, Behold, such is our expectation, whither we fled for help to be delivered from the king of Assyria: and we, how shall we escape? (Isa. 20).

This is an example of how the prophet tried to drive home his message to the hearts of the people. He made use of the opportunity afforded him by the Fall of Ashdod to show the people and the king the folly of depending upon Egypt for support and aid. But they were not yet convinced that the prophet was right.

One of Sargon's great problems was Babylonia. In the very first year of his reign the Chaldean prince, Merodach Baladan, Assyria's 'thorn in the flesh', seized the throne of Babylon and held it from 721 to 709 B.C. He was then defeated, being forced to escape into the marsh lands at the head of the Persian Gulf, and Sargon took over the control of Babylon. The following year

Sargon captured the city of Dur-yakin, where Merodach Baladan had taken refuge, and thereby reestablished the dominion of Assyria to the shores of the Persian Gulf. The entire story is to be found in the Khorsabad Inscription, from which we select the following items:

...Merodach-Baladan, the son of Jakin, king of Chaldea, * * * *a wicked demon, who did not fear the name of the lord of lords, trusted to the 'Saltwater' (i.e. the Persian Gulf), the swelling flood, violated the ordinances of the great gods and held back his gift. * * * * *Twelve years against the will of the gods, he held Babylon in his power and ruled it. By command of Ashur, the father of the gods, and of Merodach, I got my span ready for battle and collected my forces. I gave orders to march against the hostile, rebellious Chaldaeans. But he, Merodach-Baladan, * * *fear for his life came over him. He fled from Babylon* * * he assembled to one place and brought them to Dur-Jakin. And he strengthened its fortifications and assembled people * * * *The city Dur-Jakin I besieged and conquered....Himself together with his wife, his sons, daughters, gold, silver, property, the treasures of his palace, as much as was there, together with the rich booty of his city * * * I brought together to one place and counted as booty. Dur-Jakin the fortress I burned, I destroyed and laid waste its high fortifications, tore out its foundation and made it like a ruin. (*)

"The works of peace", says Rogers, "in Sargon's reign were as brilliant as his campaigns had been. He was not content merely with the repairing of palaces and temples, or even with their rebuilding, as were most of the Assyrian kings who were before him. He undertook the colossal task of founding a new city

(*)Max Kellner: Assyrian Monuments Illustrating the Sermons of Isaiah. page 19.

which should bear his own name, DUR-SHAR-RUKIN (Sargon's-burg)."(*)
The city was rectangular in shape and was surrounded by walls which were not less than 80 feet in thickness and of an unknown height and which contained one hundred and fifty towers. Each of the eight gates leading into the city was named after some Assyrian god. The entrances were guarded by great winged bulls with human heads, which were carved out of stone and weighed forty tons each. Inside the gates he built a large palace which had fourteen courts and eighty-seven rooms. It has been estimated that there were at least two miles of sculptured slabs along the inner walls of the halls of this palace. Sargon tells us, "Day and night I planned to build that city, to erect dwellings for the great gods, and palaces, the dwelling of my royalty, and I gave order to begin the work." (**) Five years were needed to complete the task, from 712 to 707 B.C. When he was ready to move in and take possession Sargon prayed, "And may it be that I, Sharru-kinu, who inhabit this palace, may be preserved by destiny during long years, for a long life, for the happiness of my body, for the satisfaction of my heart." (***) But, alas, fifteen months after the dedication of the walls of this new metropolis Sargon was murdered and he was denied the privilege and joy of living in his new palace for any length of time.

(*) Rogers: Hist. of Baby. and Assyria. Vol.II. page 348.

(**) Ragozin: The Story of Assyria.

(***) Ibid.

which should bear his name, THE GREAT PALACE (Gargen's name). The city was reconstructed in stone and was surrounded by walls which were not less than 30 feet in thickness and of an immense height and which contained one hundred and fifty towers. Each of the eight gates leading into the city was guarded by four lions sculptured in stone. The palaces were constructed by great skilled artists with human hands, which were carved out of stone and weighed forty tons each. Inside the gates he built a large palace which had fourteen courts and eighty-seven rooms. It has been calculated that there were at least two million of sculptured stone along the inner walls of the palace of this palace. Gargen said to me, "But what might I expect to find that city, so great buildings for the great gods, and palace, the dwelling of my people, and I have order to begin the work." (2) "Five years were needed to complete the task, from the day when he was ready to move in and take possession Gargen began, "And say it to that I, Gargen, the greatest of this palace, may be preserved by God's blessing have power, for a long life, for the happiness of my body, for the satisfaction of my heart." (3) But, alas, fifteen months after the dedication of the walls of this new metropolis Gargen was murdered and he was buried the city and joy of living in his new palace for any length of time.

(1) Gargen: Hist. of Gargen, Vol. II, page 348.
(2) Gargen: The Story of Gargen.
(3) Ibid.

(5) The Reign of Sennacherib (705 - 681 B.C.)

Sargon died in 705 B.C. at the hand of a murderer and was succeeded by his son Sennacherib. He, too, was a military man like his father; but it appears that he spent a larger portion of his reign at home than did his father. When not on his campaigns he occupied his time in restoring the ancient city of Nineveh, which he made his permanent home, rather than Dur-Sharrukin which Sargon had built. The two great features of this king's military career are his expeditions into the West and his wars with Elam and Babylon. With his relation to Babylon we are not much concerned. The ringleader of the troubles in Babylonia which dragged along for several years was Assyria's "old friend", Merodach-baladan. In his efforts to stir up rebellion against Assyria he even sent letters and messengers to Hezekiah, king of Judah. The messengers came for the apparent purpose of congratulating king Hezekiah upon the recovery from his sickness; but in reality they were interested in enlisting the aid of Judah against Assyria. Isaiah severely condemned Hezekiah for showing these messengers the many resources of Judah.

Our main concern is with Sennacherib's invasion of the West, for it is in relation to this that he links up with the prophet Isaiah. There is some difference of opinion as to whether Sennacherib made two expeditions against Jerusalem or not. We are inclined to follow Barton's view (*) who suggests that there was an invasion

(*) Archaeology and the Bible, page 475.

(2) The Reign of Hsuan-chang (702 - 755 A.D.)

Hsuan-chang was the son of Hsiao-chang, who was deposed by his son Hsuan-chang. He, too, was a military man like his father and he spent most of his life in the army. When not in his campaigns he occupied his time in practicing the various arts of Hsuan-chang, which he made his personal hobby, rather than Hsuan-chang's. Hsuan-chang had little. The few great leaders of his king's military career are his expedition into the East and his war with the Tibetans. When he returned to Hsuan-chang he was not much concerned. The struggles of the kingdom in Hsuan-chang's time began about the year 700. Hsuan-chang's "old friend", Hsuan-chang-hsiao, in his efforts to stir up rebellion against Hsuan-chang's even more father and successors to Hsuan-chang, king of Tibet. The message came to the emperor Hsuan-chang of conquering king Hsuan-chang upon the return from his sickness; but in reality they were interested in relieving the old of Tibet against Hsuan-chang. Hsuan-chang's army was sent to Tibet. During these campaigns the many resources of Tibet. On this account is with Hsuan-chang's invasion of the East, for it is in relation to this that he is known with the people of Tibet. There is some difference of opinion as to whether Hsuan-chang's was a military or political expedition or not. He was inclined to follow Hsuan-chang's view (?) who suggests that there was an invasion

of Judah in 701 B.C. (recorded in II Kings 18:13 to 19:8); and that there was a second expedition occurring after the accession of Tirhakah to the throne of Egypt in 688 B.C. , which ended disastrously for the Assyrian army (recorded in II Kings 19:9-36).

The long account which Sennacherib gives in his Annals refers only to the expedition of 701 B.C. There is no record of any disaster that befell the Assyrian army at that time or at the time of the second invasion. This silence, of course, is in harmony with the Assyrian policy which would record no defeats for the eyes of the people to read. In fact, with the possibility of one inscription which may refer to an expedition against the Queen of Arabia between 688 and 682 B.C., we have no records of the last eight years of the reign of Sennacherib.

Keeping in mind the possibility of two invasions, the order of the expedition of 701 B.C. would be somewhat as follows: A revolt in Philistia, in which Hezekiah was involved, brought Sennacherib into the West. On his way to the south of Palestine he stopped in Phoenicia to correct some matters. Then he marched south and spoiled the cities of Philistia and invaded the country of Judah. Lachish was besieged and taken; and Sennacherib received the submission of the neighboring kings. Jerusalem was threatened, and Hezekiah sent a heavy tribute to the Assyrian emperor which was taken to Nineveh. Sennacherib's account of this invasion reads thus: (*)

(*) Barton, Arch. and the Bible, page 471

of which in Vol. 2. (recovered in 11 March 1913 to 1914)
and that there was a second expedition occurring after the
expedition of Tishbein to the throne of Egypt in 100 B.C.,
which would naturally for the Assyrian army (recovered
in 11 March 1913-14).

The long account which Herodotus gives in his *Annals*
refers only to the expedition of 101 B.C. There is no
record of any disaster that befell the Assyrian army at
that time or at the time of the second invasion. This
evidence, of course, is in harmony with the Assyrian policy
which would record no disaster for the sake of the people
to read. In fact, with the possibility of one inscription
which may refer to an expedition against the Queen of
Arabia between 100 and 102 B.C., we have no records of the
last eight years of the reign of Sennacherib.

Beginning in mind the possibility of two invasions,
the order of the expedition of 101 B.C. would be somewhat
as follows: A revolt in Philistia, in which Hachish was
involved, brought Sennacherib into the land. On his way
to the south of Palestine he stopped in Beersheva to over-
look some matters. Then he marched south and spoiled the
cities of Philistia and invaded the country of Judah.
Hachish was besieged and taken; and Sennacherib recovered
the submission of the neighboring kings. Jerusalem was
threatened, and Hachish sent a party to the
Assyrian emperor which was taken to Nineveh. Sennacherib's
account of this invasion reads thus: (2)

* * * *kings of the Westland, all of them, an extensive district, brought their heavy tribute together with their possessions into my presence and kissed my feet.

And Sidqa, the King of Askelon, who had not submitted to my yoke, the gods of the house of his father, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, the seed of the house of his father I took away and brought him to Assyria. Sharruludari, the son of Rukibtî, their former king, I placed over the people of Askelon, and imposed upon him the payment of tribute as an aid to my rule, and he bore my yoke. In the progress of my expedition Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Banabarka, Azuru, the cities of Sidqa, who had not with alacrity submitted to my feet, I besieged, I captured, I took their spoil. The governors, princes, and people of Ekron, who had cast into fetters of iron Padi, their king, my ally, bound by Ashur's oath, and had delivered him to Hezekiah, the Judæan, who as an enemy imprisoned him,---- their hearts feared. The kings of Egypt, the soldiers, bows, chariots, and horses of the king of Meluhu, and unnumbered force, they summoned, and they came to their aid. In the environs of Elteke the battle array was drawn up before me; they asked for their weapons. In the might of Ashur, my lord, I fought with them and accomplished their defeat. My hands took alive in the midst of the battle the commander of the chariots and the sons of the Egyptian king, together with the commander of the chariots of the king of Meluhu. Elteke (and) Timnath I besieged, captured and took their spoil. I approached Ekron. The governors and princes who had committed sin I killed and on stakes round about the city I hung their bodies. The citizens who had committed wickedness and rebellion I counted as spoil. I declared the righteousness of the rest of them, who had committed no sin and rebellion and in whom was no wickedness. I brought Padi, their king, out of the midst of Jerusalem, and on the throne of dominion over them I placed, and imposed the tribute of my over-lordship upon him.

And as to Hezekiah, the Judean, who had not submitted to my yoke, 46 of his strongholds, fortified cities, and smaller cities of their environs without number, with the onset of battering rams and the attack of engines, mines, breaches, and axes(?), I besieged, I captured. 200,150 people, small and great, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep without number I brought out of their midst and counted as booty. He himself I shut up like a caged bird in Jerusalem, his capital city; I erected beleaguering works against him, and turned back by command every one who came out of his city gate. The cities, which I had captured, from his country I cut off and gave them to Mitinti, King of Ashdod, Padi, King of Ekron, and Sillibaal, King of Gaza, and diminished his land. In addition to the former tribute, their yearly tax, I added a tax as the impost of my over-lordship and laid it upon them. As to Hezekiah himself, the fear of the luster of my lordship overcame him and the Urbi and his favorite soldiers, whom he had brought in to strengthen Jerusalem, his capital city, deserted. With 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious stones, rouge, dakkasi, lapis lazuli, great angugmi-stones, beds of ivory, stationary ivory thrones, elephants' hide, ivory, ushu-wood, ukarinmu-wood, all sorts of objects, a heavy treasure; also his daughters, the women of his palace, male and female musicians he sent after me to Nineveh, my capital city, and sent his messenger to present the gift and to do homage.

(a) Sennacherib and the Walled Cities of Judah

The account in II Kings (18:13) summarizes the activity of Sennacherib in Judah in a few words, but behind these words is an interesting story. The verse reads: "Now in the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them." In his program of subjugating Judah in 701 B.C. Sennacherib aimed to

And as to Herodias, the Jewish, who had
not remained to my wife, at the same
house, I visited often, and in the
of their various ailments, with the
onset of herding them and the effect of
anxiety, anger, weakness, and grief, I
believed, I perceived, 200, 150 people, small
and great, male and female, horses, mules,
asses, camels, oxen, and sheep, without
number I brought out of their midst and
counted as booty. He himself I sent up
like a dove into the wilderness, his capital
city; I ordered his subjects to come against
him, and turned back by command every one
who came out of his city gate. The cities,
which I had captured, from the country I
out off and gave them to Herod, King of
Judea, King of Idumea, and King of
Gadara, and I appointed his sons, in
addition to the former tribute, that
yearly tax, I added a tax on the account
of my over-lordship and laid it upon them.
As to Herodias himself, the fear of the
number of my Jewish subjects, and
the Lord and his favorite soldiers, whom
he had brought in to strengthen Jerusalem,
his capital city, terrified him. With 30 talents
of gold, 500 talents of silver, precious
stones, pearls, diamonds, lapis lazuli, great
emeralds, beryl, topaz, and many
ivory towers, elephants, lions, ivory
towers, and many more, all kinds of
objects, a heavy treasure; also his
daughter, the queen of his palace, and
and female musicians he sent after me
to Jerusalem, by night, and sent
his messenger to present the gift and
to do homage.

(a) Herodias and the Jewish Cities of Judea

The account in 11 Kings (12:13) summarizes the
activity of Herodias in Judea in a few words, but
being these words is an interesting story. The verse
reads: "Now in the fourteenth year of King Herodias did
Herodias's King of Assyria come up against all the
fenced cities of Judea, and took them." In his program
of subjecting Judea in 701 B.C. Sennacherib aimed to

do in Judah what Shalmaneser V and Sargon II had accomplished in Samaria. He hoped to be able to capture the capital city of Jerusalem. This he did not succeed in doing; but he waged a devastating warfare against the walled cities of Judah. He has left us four cuneiform attestations of this victory in the land of Judah. (*) The first two are quite brief inscriptions: "I ruined the wide province of the land of Judah. The powerful ruler Hezekiah, its king, I caused to submit." "I ruined the wide province of the land of Judah. On Hezekiah, its king, I imposed my yoke." The third account is from the famous Bull Inscription from the Palace of Nineveh:

Because of the fact that Hezekiah, the Judean had not submitted to my yoke, 46 of his strong, walled cities and the cities of their environs, which had no number, I besieged, captured, plundered, and counted as booty. As for him, like a bird of a basket in the midst of Jerusalem, his royal city, I imprisoned him. Bulwarks I threw up against him. (*)

The last account is the most striking of all four. It has already been quoted in the longer account of his campaign of 701 B.C., but it will bear repetition at this point for emphasis, and because it is a different version: (*)

And as for Hezekiah, the Judean, who did not submit to my yoke, 46 of his strong, walled cities, and the small cities of their environs, which had no number, I besieged (and) captured by the use of earthen ramps and the onslaught of siege engines, (by) the attack of storming on foot, (by) tunneling, cutting, and breaches. Two hundred thousand and one hundred and fifty people, small and great, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep, which were without number, I caused to go forth

(*) R.P. Dougherty: Sennacherib and the Walled Cities of Judah. Jour. of Bib. Lit. Vol. 49. 1930. pages 160 - 171.

from their midst and counted as booty. As for him, like a bird of a basket I imprisoned him in the midst of Jerusalem, his royal city. Bulwarks I threw up against him. I turned back to his woe the one who came forth from his city gate.

In addition to these accounts by the Assyrian king, archaeological investigation has made a definite contribution to our understanding of the feat which Sennacherib accomplished. We are able to visualize some details of the expedition which we read about in the Annals and pass over quickly. Here is where archaeology has definitely aided us. Excavations at Lachish, Tell en-Nasbeh, and Tell Beit Mirsim have uncovered thick city walls.

A careful reading of the Biblical text will reveal two features to keep in mind: first, the cities were strong. Fenced may be interpreted as "inaccessible", signifying that the cities were fortified by means of strong and lofty walls. Secondly, the affair was a strong military offensive which was felt throughout the whole of Judah. The account reads, 'took them', implying 'laid hold of', 'seized', 'captured'. Also it mentions a large number of cities and a larger number of environs that succumbed.

In his article "Sennacherib and the Walled Cities of Judah", previously referred to, Raymond P. Dougherty suggests the following conclusions to be drawn from a study of the cuneiform inscriptions. And these may be further illustrated by reference to archaeological findings. (1) The subjugation of Judah was widespread.

From these notes and accounts on page 10
it is clear, that a list of names
I have made in the list of names
which, this time, I have made
I have made this list of names
to the list of names.

In addition to these accounts by the Egyptian king,
archaeological investigation has made a definite
contribution to our understanding of the fact which
concerns the reconstruction. The new data is valuable
even today of the expedition which we read about
in the Arabic and even over the page. There is some
archaeology has definitely added to the excavations at
Thebes, Tell el-Fara, and Tell el-Fara have
discovered some of the
A careful reading of the Arabic text will
reveal two features to be in mind first, the
names were strong. Second, they are interpreted as
"inaccessible", signifying that the names are
written by means of strong and bold letters.
Accordingly, the Arabic has a strong literary character
which was felt throughout the whole of the text. The
names were, 'look then', signifying 'look then',
'said', 'captured', 'also is written a large number
of circles and a large number of symbols that appeared.
In the Arabic "Gommar" and the Arabic "Gommar"
of "look", previously referred to, "Gommar" is frequently
suggested the following conclusions to be drawn from a
study of the Arabic inscriptions. And there may be
Further illustrated by reference to archaeological
findings. (1) The subject of the Arabic is significant.

Sennacherib says: "I ruined the wide province of the land of Judah", and "the small cities of their environs." In his report on Tell en-Nasbeh in 1929, Prof. W.F.Badé (*) gives us the following interesting information:

One of the interesting results brought to light by the progress of the season's excavations is the fact that the ancient city extended considerably beyond the area included within the walls. These were what one might call suburbs which covered the comparatively broad, level terraces on the eastern and southern flanks of the Tell. The existence of an Iron Age suburb on the southern slope had been established during the excavations of previous years.

It is quite evident that this statement supports and corroborates the picture given in the cuneiform accounts, "the small cities of their environs".

(2) The destruction of the cities was partial. There is not the statement in the Assyrian records of the complete destruction of these cities of Judah that we find with reference to the many cities in other countries. The account of the Judean campaign is tame compared with the record of other campaigns. This fact is verified by the excavation work of W. F. Albright. In unearthing the Biblical city of either Debir or Kiriath-sepher on the Tell Beit Mirsim, he discovered a tower which "belongs to the eighth century, and was probably destroyed by Sennacherib", and then he adds this statement? "WHO CAPTURED THE FORTIFIED TOWNS OF JUDAH, BUT DID NOT DESTROY THE HOUSES OF THE INHABITANTS, AND PERMITTED THEM TO REMAIN IN THEIR HOMES AS ASSYRIAN SUBJECTS." (**)

(*)page 5. Quoted from Dougherty.

(**) Albright: Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible
1933. page 235.

This conclusion comes from a man who has spent several years in Palestine in excavation work. But more than this may be said with reference to this point. The same writer says further: (*) "Interesting light on the fiscal and administrative system of Judah in the same period is shed by the handles of large amphoras, stamped with an official seal, bearing the inscription "Belonging to the king---Hebron", four of which we discovered here (Tell Beit Mirsim). So far nearly two hundred stamped jar-handles of this type have been found in Judah, with four different place-names: Hebron, Socoh, Ziph, and Mamshath (a place in the Negeb, not mentioned in the Bible). These four places were the administrative centers of four fiscal districts, probably established by Hezekiah. The wine and oil delivered in payment of taxes ("tithes") were put into standard jars, all stamped with the official seal, were then circulated as measures of value. Since nothing of the kind has been found outside the narrow limits of Judah, it appears that the idea was original there---another illustration of the originality of that little country in the days of the great prophets.....These stamped jar-handles are of great chronological value, since they help to establish the fact that most of the fortified towns of Judah were destroyed by the Chaldaeans at the time of the Captivity, and not by Sennacherib, or even by a later invader, as has frequently been supposed in the past."

(3) The mode of warfare was difficult. We find references

(*) Albright: Arch. of Pal. and the Bible. page 124f.

This conclusion comes from a man who has spent several years in Palestine in excavations work. But more than this may be said with reference to this point. The same writer says further: (4) "Interesting light on the fiscal and administrative system of Judah in the same period is shed by the handling of large amounts, stamped with an official seal, bearing the inscription 'Belonging to the King--Hebron', some of which are also covered here (see Plate XXXIV). So far nearly two hundred stamped jar-handles of this type have been found in Hebron, with four different place-names: Hebron, Be'er, Beth, and Jericho (a place in the Negev, not mentioned in the Bible). These four places were the administrative centers of four fiscal districts, probably established by Hezekiah. The wine and oil delivered in payment of taxes ('tithe') were put into stamped jars. All stamped with the official seal, were then introduced as measures of value. Since nothing of the kind has been found outside the narrow limits of Judah, it appears that the idea was original there--another illustration of the originality of that little country in the days of the great prophets..... These stamped jar-handles are of great archaeological value, since they help to establish the fact that some of the fortified towns of Judah were destroyed by the Babylonians at the time of the captivity, and not by the Assyrians, as was formerly supposed in the past.

(5) The mode of writing was difficult, so that references (6) Abington: Arch. of Pal. and the Negev, page 124.

to "earthen ramps", "storming on foot", "tunneling", "cutting" and "breach-making", as some of the means used to bring cities to submission. Dougherty tells us, "The remarkable fact is that the attacking methods of Sennacherib were thought worthy of detailed description only in connection with the seizure of the cities of Judah and the capture of Babylon." (*) It would seem that such methods as were used by the Assyrians in Judah would argue the fact that these cities were defended by strong walls. Archaeological discoveries in Palestine furnish testimony to this fact. Professors Petrie at Lachish, Badé at Tell en-Nasbeh, and Albright at Tell Beit Mirsim have uncovered strong walls. Here is some testimony from Prof. Badé from his report for Tell en-Nasbeh: "The West-side wall attains the extraordinary thickness of 26 feet." (p.21) "So far as the writer is aware, this is the thickest and strongest wall which has yet been unearthed in Palestine. It so captivated our imaginations last season that we spent much time and labor in freeing the whole southern outside face to bed-rock, in order to be able to study its structure." (p.21) "On account of the great width of the wall, the city's defenders doubtless could be moved along the top to meet attack from the outside." (p. 23) (**)

In this connection we may refer to the siege of Lachish. The Assyrian inscriptions make no mention of

(*) Jour. of Bib. Lit. 1930. p.167.

(**) Report for 1929. Quoted from Dougherty. p. 170

the siege of Lachish, but a slab from Sennacherib's own palace pictures the monarch seated on a throne and bears the words: SENNACHERIB, KING OF NATIONS, KING OF ASSYRIA, SEATED ON AN EXALTED THRONE, RECEIVES THE SPOILS OF THE CITY OF LAKHISH. In his recent book, "New Bible Evidence" Sir Charles Marston speaks of a bronze crest of a helmet which has been unearthed in the ruins of Tell Duweir (probably Lachish) that is like the crests of the peculiar helmets worn by Sennacherib's spearmen on the bas-reliefs depicting the siege of Lachish. (p.232) Marston further says, "The wall of the city bore evidence of having been breached by Sennacherib (701/B.C.). Examination of the remains of the wall brought to light some interesting evidence. The siege by the Assyrians had been conducted on the lines depicted in the bas-relief by assault and breaching." (p.232). (*)

(b) Sennacherib's Siege of Jerusalem

Sennacherib attempted no lengthy siege, and, so far as we know, made no strenuous effort to capture the city of Jerusalem. He sent his Rabshakeh to demand the surrender of the city which was denied. It does appear that Hezekiah paid heavy tribute to the king, which was sent to Nineveh. Later the Assyrian army returned to the West, probably intent upon taking Jerusalem. This second expedition brought forth a message from Isaiah, and ended in disaster for the Assyrians.

(*) In revised edition. 1935.

King Hezekiah anticipated an attack by Sennacherib when he came into the West in 701 B.C. In II Chron. (32:2-5) is recorded the preparations which the king made to defend the city:

And when Hezekiah saw that Sennacherib was come, and that he was purposed to fight against Jerusalem, he took counsel with his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city; and they helped him. So there was gathered much people together, and they stopped all the fountains, and the brook that flowed through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water? And he took courage, and built up all the wall that was broken down, and raised it up to the towers, and the other wall without, and strengthened Millo in the city of David, and made weapons and shields in abundance.

It is generally believed that the tunnel which connects the waters of Gihon with the Pool of Siloam was built by Hezekiah at this time. In II Kings (20:20) mention is made of Hezekiah making a pool and a conduit, and bringing water into the city. This tunnel, which is still to be seen in Jerusalem, was cut through solid rock, to a distance of about 1,700 feet. It averages about six feet in height. By means of this tunnel water was brought into the city within the walls, so that the inhabitants could obtain their water without exposure to the enemy in time of siege. In 1880 there was discovered an inscription on one of the walls of this tunnel, which has become famous as The Siloam Inscription. It reads as follows: (*)

Barton: Arch. and the Bible, page 475.

The boring through (is completed). And this is the story of the boring through: while yet (they plied) the drill, each toward his fellow, and while yet there were three cubits to be bored through, there was heard the voice of one calling unto another, for there was a crevice in the rock on the right hand. And on the day of the boring through the stone-cutters struck, each to meet his fellow, drill upon drill; and the waters flowed from the source to the pool for a thousand and two hundred cubits, and a hundred cubits was the height of the rock above the heads of the stone-cutters.

The threatened attack of the city by Sennacherib brought forth encouraging words to the king from the mouth of the prophet. Isaiah believed with all his heart that Jehovah would not suffer Jerusalem to be taken. "Jerusalem is inviolable", was his text in that hour of crisis.

Therefore thus saith Jehovah concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come unto this city, nor shoot an arrow there, neither shall he come before it with shield, nor cast up a mound against it. By the way that he came, by the same way shall he return, and he shall not come unto this city, saith Jehovah. For I will defend this city to save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake. (II Kings 19:32 -34).

The second expedition against Jerusalem ended in disaster. In II Kings (19:35f) the record reads: "And it came to pass that night that the angel of Jehovah went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred fourscore and five thousand:: : So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh."

This account of the Biblical writer receives confirmation from a passage found in the writings of Herodotus. He says (Book II, 141): (*)

And afterward Sennacherib, King of the Arabians and Assyrians, marched a great army into Egypt. * * * * * He (Sethos, a priest) went forth to meet the Arabian army* * *(with) those Egyptians who were willing to follow him and marched to Pelusium, where the entrance to his country was. None of the warriors followed him, but traders, artisans, and market men. There, as the two armies lay opposite to each other, there came in the night a multitude of field mice which ate up all the quivers and bow-strings of the enemy, and the thongs of their shields. In consequence, on the next day they fled, and being deprived of their arms, many of them fell. And there stands now in the temple of Hephaistos a stone statue of this king holding a mouse in his hand, bearing an inscription which says: "Let any who look on me reverence the gods."

Back of both of these accounts is the probability that a bubonic plague broke out in the Assyrian camp spreading pestilence and death among the Assyrian soldiers of Sennacherib.

(c) Sennacherib at Nineveh

One of the tasks in which this great king delighted was the beautifying of his royal city of Nineveh. He tells us: "Of Nineveh, my royal city, I greatly enlarged the dwellings. Its streets, I renovated the old ones and I widened those which were too narrow. I made it as brilliant as the sun." (**) But there was dissatisfaction on

(*) Quoted from Barton, Arch. & Bible. page 474.

(**) From Ragozin: Story of Assyria. page 325.

the part of the people over the lack of proper drinking-water. "Then I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, by command of the gods, resolved in my mind to complete this work, and I brought my mind to it." (*) He had sixteen canals dug and embanked. It is very interesting to read in this connection that "Dr. Frankfort, excavating on behalf of the Chicago Oriental Institute, has recently found remains of the canal by which this king (Sennacherib) conveyed water from the Gomel river to the city of Nineveh. The canal passed through tunnels and over aqueducts. Perhaps Hezekiah, king of Judah, had heard of it, when he cut an underground channel through Ophel in order to bring the water of the Virgin's Fountain inside Jerusalem." (**).

Sennacherib's own palace is considered to be the most imposing of Assyrian palaces. It covered eight acres of ground and contained seventy to eighty rooms. Rawlinson says that it "surpassed in size and splendour all earlier edifices, and was never excelled in any respect, except by one of later building. The palace of Asshurbanipal, built on the same platform by the grandson of Sennacherib, was more exquisite in its ornamentation; but even this edifice did not equal the great work of Sennacherib in the number of its apartments, or the grandeur of its dimensions." (***)

(*) Ragozin: Story of Assyria, page 325

(**) Marston: New Bible Evidence, 1935. Page 231

(***) Quoted by Ragozin, page 326.

A recent statement in the Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (*) makes mention of an inscribed brick of Sennacherib which was found at Tell Yarah, reading as follows:

"PALACE OF SENNACHERIB, THE GREAT KING,
THE MIGHTY KING, KING OF THE UNIVERSE,
KING OF ASSYRIA. 'THE PALACE WHICH HAS
NO RIVAL' FOR THE DWELLING OF HIS LORD-
SHIP IN THE MIDST OF NINEVEH HE HAS
BUILT ANEW."

Sennacherib 'dwelt in Nineveh' during the last eight or ten years of his life. He never again invaded the 'land of Khatti'. He lived to enjoy his palace longer than his father, Sargon did his. But he was suddenly cut off with a horrible death. The Biblical account states: "And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer smote him with the sword: and they escaped into the land of Ararat. And Esar-haddon his son reigned in his stead." (II Kings 19:37). Thus, he was murdered by two of his sons who were jealous of the favors shown by their father to 'a favorite son', Esar-haddon.

(*) #55. Sept. 1934, pages 22-23.

And with the death of this Assyrian king the curtain falls on the last act of our political drama. We have followed closely the fortunes of the kingdom of Judah in her contacts with her sister nation, the kingdom of Israel, with her old enemy on the south, Egypt, with Syria and Damascus, to the north, and with the great Assyrian empire, to the east. We have seen the prophet Isaiah in his part as adviser and statesman endeavoring to guide Judah through the political maze of the eighth century B.C. Jerusalem was spared but the prophet felt that eventually she and Judah would destroy themselves by their blindness and indifference. However, the prophet believed that out of the 'remnant' or 'stock' which would be saved Jehovah would cause to spring up a new Israel.

It remains for us now to take a survey of the state of society and religion in the eighth century B.C. in both the northern kingdom of Israel and the kingdom of Judah, for Isaiah directed his condemnation of the existing conditions at both of these kingdoms, until after the untimely end of the former one in 722 B.C., when he was mainly concerned with Judah and Jerusalem. And we may say that we do not have at our disposal a wealth of material from archaeological discovery which will serve us acceptably as that for the political situation,

V. SOCIETY AND RELIGION IN THE DAYS OF ISAIAH IN
THE LIGHT OF ARCHAEOLOGY.

The age of Isaiah was one of social decay and of religious indifference. Both Israel and Judah were the targets of condemnation by not only Isaiah but by the other contemporary prophets, Amos, Hosea and Micah. Oesterley advises, "If we would understand the prophets of the eighth century, we must see them against this double background of a rotting social order, and of the advancing Assyrian power." (*) We have surveyed the political events of this century, and it is now our task to take note of the state of society as seen in the social attitudes and in the religious practices that prevailed during this period.

A. The Social Attitudes of the Age of Isaiah

A careful perusal of the messages of Isaiah reveals three great problems which called forth an attack by this prophet. These relate to (1) the extravagance of the women, (2) the indulgence in liquor, and (3) the greed for wealth. George Adam Smith says, "It is with remarkable persistence that in every civilization the two main passions of the human heart, love of wealth and love of pleasure, the instinct to gather and the instinct to squander, have sought precisely these two forms denounced by Isaiah in which to work their social havoc -- appropriation of the soil and indulgence in strong drink. Every civilized community develops

(*) Hebrew Religion, Oesterley. page 204

sooner or later its land-question and its liquor-question.^(*) "And", adds W. B. Bizzell,"with equal persistence, do we find in every country a tendency on the part of women to yield to the vanity of dress and to covet idle ease and needless extravagance. Isaiah's indictments of all three of these social sins are matters of interest, importance, and universal application."^(**)

(1) The Extravagance of the Women.

The prophet's condemnation of the women of Judah is found in the third chapter of the book that bears his name (3:16ff):

Moreover Jehovah said, Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with outstretched necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and making a tinkling with their feet; therefore the Lord will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion, and Jehovah will lay bare their secret parts. In that day the Lord will take away the beauty of their anklets, and the cauls (networks), and the crescents; the pendants, and the chains, and the mufflers; the head-tires, and the ankle-chains, and the sashes, and the perfume-boxes, and the amulets; the rings, and the nose-jewels; the festival robes, and the mantles, and the shawls, and the satchels; the hand-mirrors, and the fine linen, and the turbans, and the veils. And it shall come to pass, that instead of sweet spices there shall be rottenness; and instead of a girdle, a rope; and instead of well set hair, baldness; and instead of a robe, a girding of sackcloth; branding instead of beauty.

(*) G. A. Smith: Isaiah, vol.I, page 41.

(**) Bizzell: Social Teachings of the Jewish Prophets. p.89

In the excavation work in Palestine all sorts of personal ornaments have been found, such as, combs, perfume boxes, necklaces, chains, and anklets. At Tell Beit Mirsim Prof. Albright excavated the site of city A, the city of the Jewish monarchy period. He says that "most of our description (of city A) must be taken as applying to the town of the late eighth and the early seventh century", and concludes, "Happily for the accuracy of our description, we find so many objects of the same kind, and so few corresponding objects of a different type, that there can be no doubt with regard to the chief material elements of culture during the age of maximum prosperity." (#) At this site were found several Astarte figurines, portraying the goddess as the 'dea nutrix', the protector of nursing mothers, which were used as amulets. "The coiffure....clearly portrays the style of the day. We can thus see that the Israelite women of the day plaited and curled their locks most elaborately, allowing the braided mass to hang down around the head below the ears." (*) There was found also about a dozen cosmetic palettes "circular, with a small flat base, a rounded cavity in the middle of the top, surrounded by a broad flat rim", which were "employed in order to prepare the mineral substances contained in face-paints by powdering them." (*) "Powdered 'kuhl' was used in order to paint the eye-brows and eyelashes black.....Powdered malachite or

(#) Albright: Arch. of Palestine & the Bible. p.113
(*) Ibid. p.121f.

turquoise was employed to paint the lower eyelids green. Finally, we may safely suppose that powdered haematite clay (red ochre) was used, as in Egypt, to enhance the natural colour of the lips. Truly Isaiah was not without justification when he denounced the frivolity of the daughters of Zion." (*)

In another passage (Isa. 32:9ff) the prophet cries out:

Rise up, ye women that are at ease,
and hear my voice; ye careless daughters,
give ear unto my speech. For days beyond a year shall ye be troubled,
ye careless women; for the vintage shall fail,
the ingathering shall not come. Tremble,
ye women that are at ease; be troubled,
ye careless ones; strip you, and make you bare,
and gird sackcloth upon your loins.
They shall smite upon the breasts for the pleasant fields,
for the fruitful vine.

Amos, in denouncing the women of Israel, said to them: "Hear this word, ye kine of Bashan, that are in the mountain of Samaria, that oppress the poor, that crush the needy, that say unto their lords, Bring, and let us drink....Lo, the days shall come upon you, that they shall take you away with hooks...and ye shall go out at the breaches, every one straight before her." (Amos 4:1-3)

These prophets could not tolerate the indifference to social responsibility which these 'ladies of leisure' expressed in their daily lives. Their love of luxury and finery led to an utter disregard of the rights and privileges of the poor.

(*)Albright: Arch. of Pal. & the Bible. p. 122f.

(2) The Indulgence in Liquor

Among the woes which Isaiah pronounced upon the people of his day is one against drunkenness. "Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that tarry late into the night, till wine inflame them! And the harp and the lute, the tabret and the pipe, and wine, are in their feasts; but they regard not the work of Jehovah neither have they considered the operation of his hands."

(Isa. 5:11f). "Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink; that justify the wicked for a bribe, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him!" (5:22f).

Drunkenness, immorality, and 'riotous living' all go together. Riches, with the attendant leisure that follows, only open the way for such indulgence. The prophet Amos, seeing the ultimate outcome of the luxurious living of the lords of Samaria, cried out: "Woe to them that are at ease in Zion, and to them that are secure in the mountain of Samaria, the notable men of the chief of the nations, to whom the house of Israel come!

* * *ye that put far away the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near; that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall; that sing idle songs to the sound of the viol; that invent for themselves instruments

of music, like David's; that drink bowls of wine, and anoint themselves with the chief oils; but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph." (Amos 6:1-6).

"A man and his father go unto the same maiden, to profane my holy name: and they lay themselves down beside every altar upon clothes taken in pledge; and in the house of their God they drink the wine of such as have been fined." (Amos 2:7b-8).

We may here call attention to the 'ivories' which were found at Samaria early in 1934. Several thousand fragments were found, but the most of these were blackened and destroyed by fire. There were 30 to 40 of these which were in excellent condition. Probably they were from the great palace on the hill of Samaria' and were originally in the pieces of furniture and in the panelings of the walls of the palace of Ahab. Also at Samaria in a building adjoining the house of Ahab were found a considerable number of inscribed potsherds. They were receipts for wine and oil paid to the government as taxes from different sections of the kingdom of Israel. Evidently the building was a store-house for the king's supplies. We have already called attention to the jar-handles of the 'wine and oil' standard jars from the four administrative centers of Judah. (see page 62). It is quite evident that there was an abundance of wine, to which the leaders and the rich had access. In the list of items received as

tribute from king Hezekiah of Judah, Sennacherib refers to 'beds of ivory', 'stationary ivory thrones', 'ivory' and 'rouge'. Maybe some day excavators will find evidence to substantiate the record of the Assyrian kings and the statements of the Bible as to the wealth that was in Israel and Judah in the days of Isaiah, which led to the leisure, drunkenness and immorality condemned by the prophets of the two kingdoms.

(3) The Greed for Wealth

Another phase of the social life which the eighth century prophets condemned very severely was the greed for wealth and riches which led to corruption in the courts and to oppression of the poor. "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone in the midst of the land!" (Isa. 5:8) "Woe to them that devise iniquity and work evil upon their beds!" shouts Micah in 'amening' the words of Isaiah, "When the morning is light, they practise it, because it is in the power of their hand. And they covet fields, and seize them; and houses, and take them away: and they oppress a man and his house, even a man and his heritage." (2:1f) In condemning the judges of the land, Micah charges them: "Is it not for you to know justice? ye who hate the good, and love the evil; who pluck off their skin from off them, and their flesh from off their bones; who also eat the flesh of my people, and flay their

skin from off them, and break their bones, and chop them in pieces, as for the pot, and as flesh within the caldron." (Micah 3:1-3) Isaiah warns the leaders of the people that "Jehovah standeth up to contend, and standeth to judge the peoples. Jehovah will enter into judgment with the elders of his people, and the princes thereof: It is ye that have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses: what mean ye that ye crush my people, and grind the face of the poor? saith the Lord, Jehovah of hosts." (Isa. 3:13-15)

The prophet Amos brought the same indictment against Israel and Samaria. "Hear this, O ye that would swallow up the needy, and cause the poor of the land to fail, saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell grain? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the ephah small and the shekel great, and dealing falsely with balances of deceit; that we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes, and sell the refuse of the wheat? (Amos 8:4-6)

As a commentary upon the use of false weights and measures we quote from Barton, Archaeology and the Bible (page 207f) these words:

The standards of the ancient Hebrews were not exact....the shekel must have varied from 200 to more than 300 grains Troy. This is what one acquainted with the Palestine of today would expect... Even among the merchants of modern

Jerusalem, where one would expect more exact standards than among the peasantry (who still uses field-stones as weights,) (selecting one that is approximately of) (the weight they desire), odd scraps of old iron are used for weights..... Where weights and measures differed so, the words of Amos (8:5), "making the ephah small and the shekel great", gain an added significance.....Indeed, of the weights found at Gezer so many were under the average standard, and so many above it, that the inference lay close at hand that many men had one set of weights by which to purchase and another set by which to sell.

We should recall the fact that the state of affairs which the eighth century prophets denounced was the direct result of the prosperity which came to the kingdom of Israel and the kingdom of Judah during the long reigns of Jeroboam II and Uzziah, respectively. The peasantry became so oppressed that their condition was nigh unto that which led to the French Revolution, and to intermittent uprisings in England. "They crop us", says a French peasant of the lords of the great Louis' time, "as the sheep crops the grass. They treat us like their food, said another on the eve of the revolution." (*)

In bringing to a close this survey of the negative social attitudes of Israel and Judah we ponder the words of a prominent scholar in a recent book of his: (#)

(*) G. A. Smith, quoted by Bizzell in The Social Teachings of the Jewish Prophets. page 111.

(#) W. C. Graham: The Prophets and Israel's Culture Dec. 1934. page 32.

"But perhaps the crowning touch in this sordid story, the thing that rouses the ire of the prophets more than anything else, is the fact that the accepted religious leadership, the priests and prophets of the dominant cultus, not only refuse to see what is going on, but acquiesce in it and even profit by it. They lend themselves, in other words, to an exploitive attitude, to an attitude which is a denial of human worth, to an attitude which thrusts the race as a whole back to the brink of bestiality. This callous indifference to humankind, this willingness to profit by its degeneracy, this spiritual meanness of the custodians of culture --this is the 'last, unkindest cut of all' which the prophetic soul cannot bear."

And this takes us one step more to the consideration of the state of religion in the days of Isaiah.

B. Religious Practices in the Days of Isaiah.

The most satisfactory way of finding out about the worship of the people, what they believed and what they practiced in their religious life is to examine the passages uttered by Isaiah and his contemporaries in criticism of the doings of both priest and people. Then from these passages we may gather what influence other religions had upon the religion of the Hebrews. There will be much to enlighten us regarding these 'outside influences' from the findings of archaeologists. In the consideration of this topic we will note two things: first, the prophetic protest; and secondly, the Hezekiah reform movement.

What perhaps the Christian world
 in this world story, the Bible
 that comes to us of the prophets
 says that nothing else, in the
 fact that the ancient religions
 have been, the world and the
 world of the dominant culture, not
 only culture is not that in going
 on, but knowledge in it and even
 world by it. They have knowledge
 in their world, in an objective
 relation, to an objective world, in
 a world of human world, to an
 objective world which the world is
 a world not to the world of fact-
 ically, the religious indifference
 to knowledge, this indifference
 to world by its indifference, this
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 movement.

(1) The Prophetic Protest

One of the best passages to illustrate the prophetic protest and to give some idea of the influence of other religions is the so-called Vineyard Song of Isaiah (chap.5:1-7), providing we accept a new interpretation suggested by Prof. William C. Graham in the American Journal of Semitic Languages. (*) His first contention is that "It is psychologically possible, if the term ^(#) 7'7'7 may be regarded as the expression of a popular conception of relationship to God which did not meet the prophet's approval, that he used it satirically on this occasion." (p. 167). Then Prof. Graham proceeds to show that this is the case. He says, "A study of the occurrences of 7'7'7 shows that everywhere, save in Isa. 5:1, it is a term applied rather to those beloved by the deity...In Jer.11:15 it is applied sarcastically to Judah in a context which specifically charges(cf.vs.13)devotion to religious practices of which the prophet disapproves. An examination of all these passages suggests that that the religious circles in which the term was used was distinguished by an unmoral conception of relationship with the deity."(p.168). He mentions that in a certain article Wittekindt maintained that when the prophet Isaiah composed this song he had direct

(*) Notes on the Inter. of Isa. 5:1-14. XLV. 1929. 167ff.
 (#) Tr. 'wellbeloved'. Isa. 5:1

reference to the Tammuz cult as then openly practiced in Jerusalem. The Vineyard Song of the prophet goes:

Let me sing for my wellbeloved a song of my beloved touching his vineyard. My wellbeloved had a vineyard in a very fruitful hill: and he digged it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also hewed out a wine-press therein: and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes.

And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard. What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it? wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes? And now I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard: I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up: I will break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down: and I lay it waste; it shall not be pruned nor hoed; but there shall come up briars and thorns: I will also command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it. For the vineyard of Jehovah of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah the plant of his delight: and he looked for justice, but, behold oppression; for righteousness, but, behold a cry. (Isa. 5:1-7).

There have been several attempts at translating the above underscored portion of verse 7. There is an evident play on words which our English version does not show. Wade translates it: "He looked for Rule, and behold Misrule; for Redress, and behold Misrule." Duhm says, "And I hoped for GOOD rule, and behold! BLOOD-rule; and for law-KEEPING, and behold! law-BREAKING." But Prof. Graham, in his recent book, *The Prophets and Israel's Culture*, (p.37)

gives a very enlightening explanation. He writes:

"But that there is an allusion to the sympathetic magic of the cult rites is rendered likely from the preceeding context and from the etymology and usage

of the words 'mispah' and 'saqah'. A recently discovered text of a Phoenician ritual makes it certain that Isaiah's Vineyard Song is full of allusion to the magical rite of the preparation of the god's vineyard. The word 'mispah' comes from a root which means 'to pour out'. The allusion in it is either to the shedding of sacrificial blood or to the pouring out of an oblation, or possibly even to sex magic. The word 'saqah' in many contexts means, not a cry of actual pain, but a ritualistic cry used in bewailing the dead consort of Mother Earth. The prophet's meaning and something of his word play may be savored if one renders:

And he looked for magnanimity and behold - magic!
For righteousness, and behold - ritual!

The religious rites of the dominant cultus are not related to reality. They have no bearing upon the social tension which stimulates Isaiah's criticism." Prof. Graham had been inclined to view verse 7 as an interpolation, but now he emphatically states, "Under the foregoing interpretation it is now possible to see that this judgment is too subjective and entirely invalid. Indeed, it now becomes clear that 5:7 is the proper climax of the passage in which the prophet lays down a principle which differentiates his religion from the basic ideas of the fertility cults." (AJSL. p.170f). Jehovah had planted Israel in the land, but Israel had failed to 'bring forth grapes'. Instead she had yielded 'wild grapes' of Magic.

The prophet was convinced that "man must produce spiritual values which are to be radically distinguished from the products of physical fertility" (*) and therefore he "could brook no religion, whether nominally regular or openly pagan, which used the soft pedal on the note of man's moral responsibility." (")

Graham calls attention to another interesting point which we will note before leaving this passage. In Isa. 5:14 it reads, "Therefore Sheol hath enlarged its desire, and opened its mouth without measure; and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth among them, descent into it." Prof. Graham paraphrases this verse as follows: Sheol has enlarged her capacity to receive so that she may accommodate a mass of new inhabitants; "You will all go down to that place (where your goddess now alone goes) which, in preparation for your reception, has enlarged its capacity." (AJSL. p.178)

The whole prophetic protest is incorporated in this passage of the Vineyard Song. But there are other significant passages which we desire to mention. There are two other indictments which Isaiah charges against the people which should be emphasized. The first one is a picture of religious formalism in their worship. (Isa. 1:4,10ff) Here is the passage:

(*) Graham, AJSL. April 1929. p. 171.

(") Ibid. p. 169.

"Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children that deal corruptly! They have forsaken Jehovah, they have despised the Holy One of Israel, they are estranged and gone backward....

Hear the word of Jehovah, ye rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah. What unto me is the multitude of your sacrifices? saith Jehovah: I have had enough of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats, When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hands, to trample my courts? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; new moon and sabbath, the calling of assemblies, -- I cannot away with iniquity and the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth; they are a trouble unto me; I am weary of bearing them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: Your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."

The other indictment of Isaiah is one against idolatry.

"For thou hast forsaken thy people the house of Jacob, because they are filled with customs from the east, and are soothsayers like the Philistines, and they strike hands with the children of foreigners. And their land is full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures; their land also is full of horses, neither is there any end of their chariots. Their land is also full of idols; they worship the work of their own hands, that which their own fingers have made. And the mean man boweth down, and the great man humbleth himself." (2:6-9)

The prophet Micah hurled an indictment against the false prophets, of which there were many, who were in the work of prophesying as a profession. I am using the translation of Prof. Graham (*) of Micah 3:5-6,11.

"Thus has the Lord said
Regarding the prophets who lead my people astray,
Who preach prosperity when their mouth is filled;
But if one does not put something in their mouths
They declare war against him.
Therefore it shall be night for you, without vision.
And darkness for you without divination
For the sun shall set upon the prophets,
And the day shall become dark over them.
* * * * *
Her chiefs pronounce judgment for a bribe,
And her priests declare oracles for hire,
And her prophets divine cash.
Yet they lean upon the Lord, saying
"Is not the Lord in our midst?
No misfortune can befall us?" "

Hosea gives us a significant picture of the rites of 'sacred prostitution' as they were practiced in Israel.

"Whoredom and wine and new wine take away the understanding. My people ask counsel at their stock, and their staff declareth unto them; for the spirit of whoredom hath caused them to err, and they have played the harlot, departing from under their God. They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks and poplars and terebinths, because the shadow thereof is good: Therefore your daughters play the harlot, and your brides commit adultery. I will not punish your daughters, when they play the harlot, nor your brides when they commit adultery; for the men themselves go apart with harlots, and they sacrifice with the prostitutes; and the people that doth not understand shall be overthrown."
(Hosea 4:11 - 14)

(*) In The Prophets and Israel's Culture. p.71f.

The eighth century prophets, one and all, were diametrically opposed to the religion of Magic which was much in evidence all about them. The one aim of the religious practices of the devotees of the system which the prophets opposed was to secure the favor of the deity in such a way as "to secure, one might say coerce, his favor in the continuing of fertility to the soil and fecundity in animal and human life. (*) This fertility principle was a sort of religious pattern for the Near East world. In Babylonia it was headed up in the worship of Tammuz and Ishtar; in Phrygia and Asia Minor through Attis and Cebele; in Egypt through Osirus and Hathor-Isis; and in Canaan through Adonis and Ashtart (Astarte, Anath). The religion of Palestine is spoken of as being Canaanitic, yet in a way it seems to have been a conglomeration of Amorite, Hittite, Babylonian, Aegean, and Egyptian elements. There is overwhelming evidence from the findings of archaeology of these religious influences in Palestine. Pillars, figurines, serpent cult objects, Astarte cakes, images, small altars or shrines, cup-hollows, altars, high places, and temples: all speak of the prominence of a religion which the prophets fought against.

We would like to speak of one or two items which do link up with the period which we are studying.

(*) Prof. E. A. Leslie, in classroom lecture.

We have previously referred to the seals of two high officials of king Uzziah: "Abiyo, servant of Uzziyo" and "Shebanyo, servant of Uzziyo". These two men do not hesitate to use foreign religious motifs for ornamenting the seals. Abiyo "chose the child Horus, crowned with the sun disk between horns and kneeling on the lotus". Shebanyo "adopted Assyrian garb, raises his right hand in adoration and rests on a flower-tipped staff, while his name and office are protected by an Egyptian sun disk above and an Assyrian sun disk below." (*)

The excavation of Tell en-Nasbeh by Prof. W. F. Badé was conducted on the basis of "an ingenious and careful method of sequence-dating based on pottery and other human artefacts." (#) This site, ancient Mizpah probably, has yielded some interesting returns. One of these is the sanctuary described by John P. Naish in a recent article (#). He says, "The temple which seems to have been dedicated to the worship of Astarte --for terra-cotta models of a dove, a lamp nested in the three-branched fork of a tree, and a broken torso of the goddess herself, were unearthed there-- is really the most significant find from the point of view of those interested in Hebrew religion. It is obviously dated 900 - 700 B.C. between the time of Rehoboam and that of the great prophets."

(*) Olmstead: Palestine and Syria. p.419.

(#) Tell en-Nasbeh: John P. Naish. In Palestine Expedition Fund Quarterly Statement. Oct. 1932. pp. 204, 206.

King Ahaz of Judah was personally involved in lending his support to further this cultic religion. The writer of the account in II Kings (16:10ff) says:

And king Ahaz went to Damascus to meet Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and saw the altar that was at Damascus; and king Ahaz sent to Urijah the priest the fashion of it, according to all the workmanship thereof.....And when the king was come from Damascus, the king saw the altar: and the king drew near unto the altar, and offered thereon.

In all probability, 'the Altar' which Ahaz saw at Damascus was not the altar of Rimmon the chief god of the Syrians; for Assyria was then in control, and Ashur, the Assyrian national god who had triumphed over the Syrian god, would be recognized. Ahaz decided to worship on an altar and sacrifice unto Ashur, in order to please the Assyrian king. When he returned to Jerusalem he ordered all the sacrifices to be burned on the new altar. The altar of Jehovah, the brazen altar, was removed to one side for divination purposes (the brazen altar shall be for me to inquire by).

Before we close this section dealing with the prophetic protest, we must say that there was a positive side to this protest. Listen to the great positive truths which came from the lips of these prophets.

From Amos (5:24): "But let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream." or "Let roll along like the waters, Justice; and righteousness as a perpetual wady." (Leslie)

From Hosea (6:6): "For I desire goodness, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings."

From Micah (6:8): "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

From Isaiah (1:16-17): "Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."

(2) The Hezekiah Reform Movement

Under Hezekiah, the successor and son of Ahaz, a religious 'house-cleaning' was inaugurated. How much the prophet had to do with it we do not know.

The account in II Kings (18:3-6) is:

"And he did that which was right in the eyes of Jehovah, according to all that David his father had done. He removed the high places, and brake the pillars, and cut down the Asherah: and he brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made; for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it; and it was called Nehushtan. He trusted in Jehovah, the God of Israel; * * * he departed not from following him, but kept his commandments, which Jehovah commanded Moses."

But this was only a temporary affair. Under Hezekiah's son, Manasseh, there was a 'come back' and he far exceeded his father in the worship of 'other gods'.

This brings us to the end of our survey of the religious practices of Israel and Judah in the days of the prophet Isaiah. No prophet ever faced a more difficult and a more hopeless religious situation than did the prophet of Jerusalem.

VI. CONCLUSION

In an article on The Old Testament in the Light of Archaeology, Prof. Christopher North says, "The prophets believed that they stood in the counsels of the Most High, that the very words they uttered were given them by God. The silence of archaeology in face of this claim is eloquent. The prophets are the miracle of the Old Testament. Archaeology cannot explain them; it has nothing to do but pay them homage." (*) The aim, the ultimate aim, of this study has been to pay homage indirectly to the prophet Isaiah. We have tried to make the situations in which he was involved 'live again' so that we might realize the importance of the prophet in a deeper and richer sense.

This attempt to win a fuller appreciation of the work and message of Isaiah has been largely dependent upon the results of exploration in the lands of the Near East. These findings shed new light upon the political, social and religious movements of the eighth century B. C. More and more, in the days to come, will the ray of light of archaeological research increase in intensity and brightness, and continue to illuminate the history, the religion, the people and the customs of Bible lands.

Archaeology has a message for the present time

(*) Abingdon Commentary, p. 121.

the same as the prophets had for their time. In fact, it has set in relief the work and ministry of the prophetic voice. In an interview on one occasion, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, the noted British archaeologist, in stating the ultimate aims of archaeology, said, "The value of archaeology is to discover the histories of other nations to bring to light the reasons why they became powerful and why they fell. Our work is to provide the world with data to avoid the mistakes of those who have gone before us. We have revealed the fall of the Romans and the causes for that fall and we present the results of our investigations to the Governments of today. They must act upon them." (*)

It is with a new significance that we read the exhortation of Isaiah to his nation: "O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of Jehovah." (Isa. 2:5).

(*)Quoted in ANTIQUITY. Sept. 1930. p.369.

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